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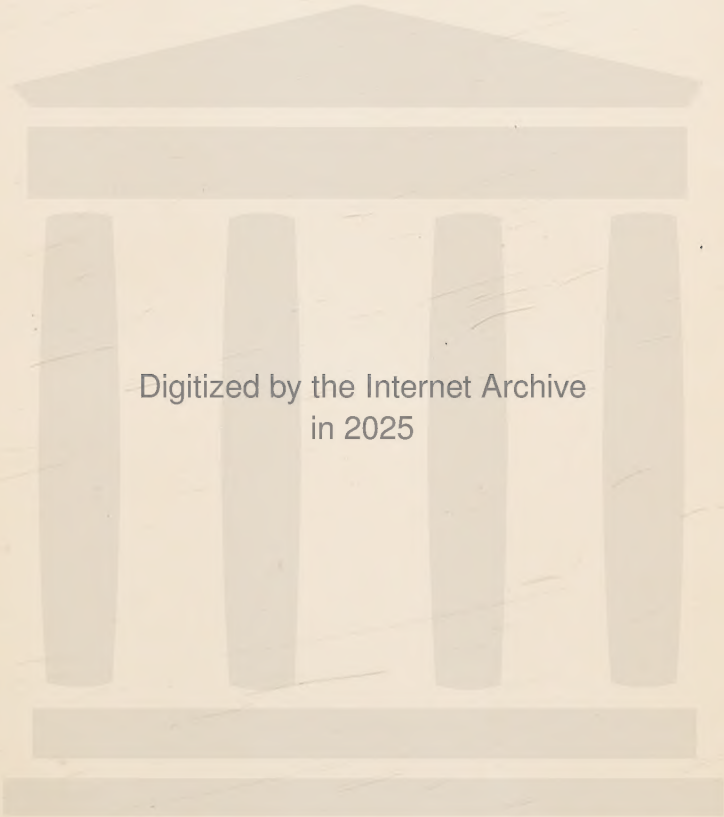
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APOLOGY AND POLEMIC IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

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APOLOGY AND POLEMIC IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

THE BOHLEN LECTURES, 1915

BY

ANDREW D. HEFFERN, D.D.

PROFESSOR IN NEW TESTAMENT LITERATURE AND LANGUAGE,
PHILADELPHIA DIVINITY SCHOOL

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THE JOHN BOHLEN LECTURESHIP

John Bohlen, who died in Philadelphia on the twenty-sixth day of April, 1874, bequeathed to trustees a fund of one hundred thousand dollars, to be distributed to religious and charitable objects in accordance with the well-known wishes of the testator.

By a deed of trust, executed June 2, 1875, the trustees under the will of Mr. Bohlen transferred and paid over to "The Rector, Church Wardens, and Vestrymen of the Church of the Holy Trinity, Philadelphia," in trust, a sum of money for certain designated purposes, out of which fund the sum of ten thousand dollars was set apart for the endowment of The John Bohlen Lectureship, upon the following terms and conditions:—

"The money shall be invested in good substantial and safe securities, and held in trust for a fund to be called The John Bohlen Lectureship, and the income shall be applied annually to the payment of a qualified person, whether clergyman or layman, for the delivery and publication of at least one hundred copies of two or more lecture sermons. These Lectures shall be delivered at such time and place, in the city of Philadelphia, as the persons nominated to appoint the lecturer shall from time to time determine, giving at least six months' notice to the person appointed to deliver the same, when the same may conveniently be done, and in no case selecting the same person as lecturer a second time within a period of five years. The payment shall be made to said lecturer, after the lectures have been printed and received by the trustees, of all the income for the year derived from said fund, after defraying the expense of printing the lectures and the other incidental expenses attending the same.

"The subject of such lectures shall be such as is within the terms set forth in the will of the Rev. John Bampton, for the delivery of what are known as the 'Bampton Lectures,' at Oxford, or any other subject distinctly connected with or relating to the Christian Religion.

"The lecturer shall be appointed annually in the month of May, or as soon thereafter as can conveniently be done, by the persons who for the time being shall hold the offices of Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the Diocese in which is the Church of the Holy Trinity; the Rector of said Church, the Professor of Biblical Learning, the Professor

of Systematic Divinity, and the Professor of Ecclesiastical History, in the Divinity School of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Philadelphia.

"In case either of said offices are vacant, the others may nominate the lecturer."

Under this trust the Rev. Andrew D. Heffern, D. D., was appointed to deliver the lectures for the year 1915.

EDITOR'S NOTE

The Rev. Professor Andrew D. Heffern, D. D., died in Philadelphia May 2, 1920, a few days after he had completed the manuscript of these Lectures. The interest that they indicate in New Testament work began in the author's undergraduate days at Harvard, developed during his studies at the Universities of Berlin and Bonn, and was maintained through twenty years of parish work. From 1900 he held the chair of the New Testament at the Philadelphia Divinity School.

The undersigned, whom the author honored as his friend with the duty of seeing the book through the press, acknowledges the valuable assistance of members of Professor Heffern's family in the proof reading. He is constrained to append his name by the sense that only the author himself, with his rare accuracy, could have given the printed book its perfect form. An Index has been appended, necessarily imperfect coming from another than the writer of so compact a book; but it may be of partial service for topical reference.

James A. Montgomery.

Philadelphia Divinity School,
Epiphany Tide, 1922.

PREFACE

The large element of controversy in the New Testament Writings has suggested the following studies of the progress of Christianity amid the earliest attacks upon it, or the attempted perversions of it, and of the methods of its original defense and of the establishment of believers in the faith of the Gospel. An examination of the New Testament from this special historical standpoint promises to contribute not only to a distincter understanding of the development of some of the movements of the Apostolic Age, but also to the exposition of several of its Books or of passages in them, in the light of their polemic occasions and of their direct interest in establishing their readers against specific intruding errors. In some cases it may also contribute to a more precise understanding of the occasion and formulation of important theological themes. Such a study will have the additional interest of recognizing the abiding principles and constant lines of defense, and the bases of the full assurance of faith to which the New Testament writers confidently appeal.

We already possess numerous important studies of separate lines of New Testament apologetic arguments and their validity, and of the external persecutions; exhaustive investigations of the Judaistic controversy, and monographs on the errorists alluded to in several Books of the New Testament, frequently with an interest in their bearings upon critical theories. In the studies here submitted, portions of which were presented in the public lectures, an attempt has been made to gain a connected view of these various separate features and movements by employing as the unifying principle the dominating religious interest of the writers in the genesis of faith by the method of witness and apology, and in its continued establishment against attacks from without and within.

Such a historical study based directly upon the data of the New Testament, is obviously affected by literary criticism of the documents, as being based upon it; and it is also in some instances a

factor in determining its results. In many cases this historical investigation can proceed from fairly generally accepted critical conclusions. Where, however, there is no such general agreement concerning the genuineness and date of certain Books, the endeavor has been made to study their contents, as far as practicable, apart from critical questions, and to indicate what bearings, if any, the result has upon their literary and historical criticism. Definitely, the critical views here followed are, for the Gospels, mainly those of B. Weiss, and for the Epistles largely those of Zahn. Both in the consideration of matters of criticism and in the related discussion of historical developments and doctrinal features, invaluable help has constantly been gained from Moffatt's Introduction.

In the subject of polemic, which has especially since the Tübingen movement been regarded as concerned principally with the Judaistic movement, a detailed study has been made of the other line of attack by a movement of gnosticizing character. While this is ordinarily recognized as appearing first in Colossæ, as due to local influence, and as otherwise alluded to only in the latest portions of the New Testament, it is here concluded that it had an earlier appearance and wider activity; and that the exposure and confutation of it is a prominent interest of many other New Testament Writings. In advocating its emergence in an earlier stage of the Pauline mission and its wider range, it has been found advisable, in order to guard against any impression that the evidence for this would rest only on a questionable combination of scattered allusions in various Epistles, to construct at the outset such features of it as may be recognized independently in each Epistle or group; and then to indicate how the separate constructions point to the identity of one general movement revealing itself with increasing definiteness. This method involves unavoidably a repetition in the separate surveys, of the indications of controlling features of the movement; but it has been deemed necessary in view of current denials of allusions to such a movement before Colossians and in Epistles subsequent to it.

In these surveys no attempt has been made, since the New Testament data do not suffice, to construct the system in its details; but primarily to ascertain the fact of the activity of such a movement and its ominous significance for the fundamentals of

Christianity, as indeed it is thus definitely viewed and confuted in the New Testament from the standpoint of its threatened influence. It will also be found that these separate studies of the movement in the Apostolic Age have been made with no attempt to identify the New Testament errorists with any special forms of later gnosticism; and, apart from an occasional illustration, with no attempts to support them by direct parallels with second century gnostic terminology. Should the view here proposed meet with any general measure of approval, then second century gnosticism in some of its detailed doctrines and terms is further available in possible illustration of certain New Testament expressions, special lines of reasoning and doctrinal formulations, and of some obscure phrases and passages, in view of the recognition in these instances of a background of reference to a general gnostic usage, whether appropriated or repudiated by the New Testament writers.

If the thesis here advocated is tenable, it also offers through the movement as it has been here constructed in its controlling outlines, a contribution towards the filling in of the gap in our knowledge as to the link connecting pre-Christian gnosticism in the first half of the first century and the great gnostic systems of the first half of the second century.

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APOLOGY AND POLEMIC IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

APOLOGY AND POLEMIC IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

CHAPTER I

THE CONTROVERSIAL ELEMENT IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

Among the subjects to be treated in this lectureship, according to the terms of the foundation, is the confirmation and establishment of the Christian faith; and I have chosen as my topic its original defense, confirmation and establishment, as found in the New Testament. I shall endeavor to present this by an historical study and discussion of Apology and Polemic in the New Testament.

The New Testament is primarily a book of religion. It has flowered out of the inspired teaching, religious life and aims of the primitive Christians; and through the Christian generations it has been a source of religious illumination, power and peace. It is, however, equally true that the origin of the Book and of the religion of the New Testament was closely allied with controversy and contest. What Wrede complains of as the character and tendency of the Fourth Gospel, the most devotional of our New Testament writings, is indeed true of it and of all the New Testament books: it was born out of conflict; although it is not true, as he claims, that it was written for conflict.[1] That books of controversy should at the same time be books of devotion is due to the fact that in the primitive contest for the faith delivered, its defenders preached and wrote according to the rule enunciated by Isaiah and followed by Christ (Mtw. 12, 18): that the Lord's servant must not strive, *μάχεσθαι*, but be gentle towards all, apt to teach, patient of wrongs, in meekness correcting those that oppose themselves, II Tim. 2, 24 f. They were ready always to give answer, *ἀπολογία*, yet with meekness and fear, I Pet. 3, 15.

[1] W. Wrede, *Vorträge und Studien*, 1907, p. 208.

The prominence of these oppositions to the Gospel was predicted in Simeon's warning in Christ's infancy: this Child is set for the falling and rising again of many in Israel; and for a sign which is spoken against. So too the Christian Apostle near the close of his lifework, echoes Simeon's prophecy in describing his ministry as an appointment for the defense and confirmation, ἀπολογία καὶ βεβαίωσις of the Gospel, Php. 1, 7,16.

Emphasis on this element of opposition may seem to conflict with the truth that the New Testament Age was the fullness of time; that it was the acceptable time, the καιρός when the Gentile world was prepared to receive the Gospel of salvation and when Israel had been prepared to bring it to them. It was in truth this fullness and nick of time, just because it was a supreme crisis in humanity's history. The opposing spiritual principles, ideals and forces of the old world-order and of Christ's new revelation and redemption met then in decisive conflict. In such a crisis, the Christ realized that He was come not to send peace on the earth; "not to permit it to remain on the old level," but to send a sword, Mtw. 10, 34. So St. Paul looked on the fullness of time as the opening of a great door and effectual; yet a door that opened out on many adversaries, I Cor. 16, 9. Conflict was inevitable in such a crisis. The Incarnation was the inbreathing and involution of a new creative force into the life, thought and institutions of the human life. It had to be organically correlated with the existing religious life: with the life of Israel under the preparatory discipline of the Old Testament revelation in law and prophecy; with the messianic hope of the Baptist, of the Pharisee and of the Zealot; with the moral and social systems of Jew and Gentile; and in general with their need of salvation, and with their imperfect receptivity for Christ's revelation of that salvation in himself. If as the older Hegelianism taught, Christianity was a natural evolution out of Aryan intellectualism and Semitic religionism, there would have been no such conflict as we find in the New Testament. There was indeed a commingling of those elements going on in this period; yet the result was not the Gospel of Christ, but the quiet coalescence of Orientalism with Græco-Roman thought in the various forms of Syncretism. The fact and the character of the conflicts of the Apostolic Age, as well as its spiritual triumph, are themselves testimonies that Christian-

ity was a new creative force, a new covenant, a new and complete revelation, a new life.[2]

Our New Testament writings are in varying measure related to the emergence, development and overcoming of these oppositions. This is recognized in the familiar characterizations of many of these books. Matthew is entitled by Zahn as an apologia to the Jews. Acts is regarded by Bartlet and J. Weiss as an apology to the Romans. Farrar finds in II Corinthians St. Paul's apologia pro vita sua. Edmundson and many others see in Romans his apology for his gospel; and Bruce studies Hebrews as the first Christian apology. A study of the New Testament from this viewpoint may contribute to our understanding of the historic setting and aims of its writings, and of their treatment of the various attacks from without, and of the controversies within, the Church of the Apostolic Age.

There is besides the same need of confirmation and establishment of faith to-day, which involves a study of the method and validity of its defense in Apostolic days. And this especially because of current claims that our New Testament Books, in particular the Gospels, are dominated by an apologetic aim. Wernle, in the opening number of the *Zeitschrift für die N. T. Wissenschaft*, 1900, discusses the ancient Christian apologetic in the New Testament, and concludes, p. 63 f. that all four Gospels are distinctly apologies; each advancing beyond its predecessor in the task of defending the Christian faith against Jews and heathen; apology is their controlling aim, and it develops into inventive and freely creative apologetic. Wrede, in the essay on the Character and Tendency of the Gospel of John cited above, has even more definitely attacked the Fourth Gospel, because of the aim, character and worth of the Apology he finds in it. Baldensperger [3] sees in

[2] Liddon, *Clerical Life and Work*, p. 149, recalls the task confronting the Apostles in taking up their commission to make disciples of all nations: 'Before them were vast political bodies with the prestige of antiquity and the prestige of possession, and committed to the support of popular falsehoods. Before them were intellectual systems, elaborated by generations of thinkers, and commanding, if not the belief, yet certainly the respect of the educated classes. Before them all the ambitions, all the lusts, all the luxuries, all the vested interests of a large and corrupt society.'

[3] W. Baldensperger, *Der Prolog des vierten Evangeliums: sein polemisch-apologetischer Zweck*. 1898.

this Gospel an apologetic purpose in a polemic against the School of the Baptist. J. Weiss has exploited in his unfinished work on Primitive Christianity, his earlier views of Acts as apologetic, in order to prove its composition at 100 A. D., and to reduce it to the level of a second century apology. Weinel too has appropriated this view of the apologetic element in the Gospels, in the construction of his Biblical Theology of the New Testament. The real significance of these recent theories of the character of the apologetic of the New Testament, is that it is claimed to be not a defense of Christ's Gospel, but of an alleged transformation of that Gospel; in other words, it is only an apology for the faith of the Church at the close of the Apostolic Age.

The direct discussion of this claim would involve a detailed investigation of the many relevant topics of literary and historical criticism of the Gospels. We can therefore here only recall that in some instances the alleged apologetic interest has to be read into the narrative; that in general its influence in the composition of the historical Books has been pressed out of proportion; and that a determination of its definite function and character will furnish no support to the theory of a creative apologetic. Wernle himself recognizes, *op. cit.*, p. 63 n., that the Evangelists were influenced by many other tendencies, although he claims that the apologetic interest was dominating. In this conclusion Menzies decides that 'he perhaps goes too far.'[4] Menzies himself in discussing the motives of the formation of the Gospel tradition, finds the general motives to be three: the ætiological, by which any religion seeks an explanation of its own character, arrangements and institutions; the apologetic, which provides a defense against attacks from without by presenting the tradition of the life and teaching of Christ as the best defense of the faith; and the devotional, to realize its own spirit and gain fresh vigor in the spring of the Christian movement, Christ himself. While allowing that the Gospel tradition was modified by these three impulses, he emphasizes the historical character of the Gospels. Concerning the apologetic motive he states: 'No one would say that these elements of the Gospel tradition were invented to serve the purpose of arguments for the Christian cause;' and he adds, 'but that they

[4] A. Menzies, *The Earliest Gospel*, 1901, p. 15 n., pp. 4–19.

did serve in this way is undeniable, and that those who arranged and handed on the tradition must have felt it to have this virtue is equally plain.'

In such a construction the apologetic element of the Gospels is presented in a truer proportion. Yet Menzies' closing suggestion of the Evangelists' interest in defense against external attacks has to be qualified in view of the fact that the Gospels are addressed to, and written in the interest of the establishment of, believers already confirmed in the faith.[5] They were therefore not composed with the aim of winning the readers to faith; nor with a direct aim of guarding them against external attacks and objections. For these would have been urged with full force at the time of the readers' profession, and even in Christ's lifetime, and hence had been already met and overcome at their conversion. We must rather look for their apologetic significance in connection with internal attacks. As will appear in the closing chapters, instead of being designed as apologetic for an advanced doctrinal development at the date of their composition, they may, with a great degree of probability, have been intended to serve among other general interests, as a recognized basis of appeal from, and a criterion of, spurious developments of faith, perversions of Christian morals, denials of the Christian hope and rejection of apostolic authority and tradition, made on the plea of advance by means of alleged spiritual gifts. They in fact provide the distinct statement of the earliest and original Gospel facts and teachings, to which the Epistles appeal as a test of false teaching and for the establishment of disciples who wish to abide in that which they had heard from the beginning.

The occasions for a special study of the New Testament defense and confirmation of the Gospel are increasingly recognized both in recent surveys and in a few direct treatments of the subject, of

[5] Weinel, *Bib. Theol. N. T.*, p. 445: 'No one of the N. T. Writings is in fact addressed to those who are outside.' Harnack, *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity*, I. 385 n.: 'The N. T. does not contain a single missionary work. The Synoptic Gospels must not be embraced under this category, for they are catechetical works, intended for the instruction of people who are already acquainted with the principles of doctrine, and who require to have their faith enriched and confirmed. . . . Primarily, at any rate, even the Fourth Gospel has Christian readers in view, for it is certainly Christians and not pagans who are addressed in 20, 31.'

varying range. The starting point of general histories of Christian apologetic is ordinarily the second century, as being especially the Age of the apologists.[6] Among works on the earliest period, the prize essay of G. Schmitt, *Die Apologie der 3. ersten Jahrhunderte*, 1890, presents in a historic and systematic method the apology of only the later half of this period. James Macgregor, *History of the N. T. Apologetics*, 1894, is principally interested, pp. 21–121, in the discussion of Christ's 'manner of dealing with matter of proof in religion, and what He ordained regarding the sources and grounds of Christian evidence;' and more definitely, in the appeal made by Him and His Apostles, to prophecy, miracle and personal testimony. A constructive general survey of apology and polemic in the New Testament age, made from his special standpoint of literary criticism, is given by Arnold Meyer.[7] In it the prominence of the apologetic element in the New Testament Writings is emphasized, its definite occasions and the main lines of attack and defense are presented along with characterizations of the method, spirit and results of the controversies both in the ministry of Christ and of His Apostles. A few years earlier E. F. Scott[8] gave what is probably the first 'separate discussion of the primitive Apology as a whole.' With an introductory exposition of the prominence, methods and issues of the New Testament apology, and a concluding estimate of its permanent value, he has given a most clear and valuable history and discussion of the primitive claim and defense of Jesus' messiahship, and of the controlling phases of the Church's developing conflict with Judaism, heathenism and gnosticism, and of its own ultimate claim to be the absolute religion. In the present lectures it is proposed to study in such varying degree of detail as the several topics may seem to require, the historical conditions and development of the primitive controversies, especially in their relation both to the genesis of Christian faith and also to its establishment in conflict with emerging oppositions. This later phase of the subject will involve in particular a special examination of the indications, character and influence of a gnosticizing movement

[6] The older works are briefly listed in A. S. Farrar's *Critical History of Free Thought*, 1862, p. 460, and most fully in Zoeckler, *Ges. d. Apologie des Christenthum*, 1907.

[7] *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, I, coll. 565–575.

[8] *The Apologetic of The New Testament*, 1907.

within the Church shortly after the beginning of the Pauline mission.

In approaching the consideration of the general subject, our natural starting point is the evident fact that in the New Testament Age, the Gospel was believed, cp. I Thess. 2, 13. In spite of obstacles of preconceptions, disappointment of messianic hopes, reversal of life-long convictions, revolution of world-view and stern demands for the highest moral obedience, the New Testament defense of the Gospel was successful. So complete is the conviction of the converts, that in the Epistles to them we find nowhere an apologetic for the fundamental faith. That faith is made, in the Epistles, the acknowledged basis of instruction and exhortation, upon the emergence of any danger of perversion by false teaching or immorality. Even in Hebrews, with its warning of the danger of apostasy, there is no renewal of the original defense. It assumes, in its opening words, the truth of the fundamental faith and states it in its highest christological terms.

This belief of the primitive Christians was moreover the highest and most complete certitude. Its full assurance was even more than intellectual conviction of the truth of the doctrinal statements and of the reality of the historical redemptive facts preached in the Gospel; even more than a conviction of the worth of its moral ideals, and of the certainty of the judgment which it proclaimed. It was nothing less than the direct certitude, βεβαίωσις, of the fulfillment of its promise of a moral and spiritual renewal of their whole personal life. It was certitude of an entrance into a state of salvation by union with the glorified Christ. Such certitude of salvation on the part of the primitive believers could only rest upon the fullest proof, witness and defense. It set therefore before the Apostolic preachers, the task of an adequate satisfaction of the intellect by all the means of proof of truth and historic fact. The task was the greater since the truth of the redemptive facts was presented along with supreme moral demands on the will, affections and conscience for a response of self-renunciation and of self-devotion to the divine offer of salvation. Since the response could be made only because of conviction of the divine authority for such demands and offers, the proof and defense of the Gospel must be accompanied with a direct divine awakening, illumination and invigoration of the whole personality.

The means by which the genesis of this certitude and full assurance of faith was effected, will be considered in detail in the study of the Gospel propaganda to Israel and to the Gentiles. We may here, however, briefly recall the outstanding hindrances to its acceptance as they appear at the first preaching of the Gospel at Pentecost. Among the hearers of that apologia to Israel were Jews of the Dispersion, who had come under the broadening influences of life outside Palestine. While such Jews would be apt to be more receptive towards Christ's spiritual teaching and interpretation of Israel's religion, in contrast to the rigid ceremonialism and particularism of Palestinian Judaism, they had not, on the other hand, received the deep impression made upon the Palestinian multitudes by Christ's life, character and gracious ministry of mercy and power in word and deed. They would therefore naturally adopt the position of Palestinians, who in spite of every form of Christ's witness to His messiahship in His ministry among them, had rejected Him. At Pentecost all the earlier obstacles to Jewish conversion remained in full force, and had been enhanced by the supreme obstacle of His death upon the cross. He had failed to realize the messianic ideals of any of the parties: zealot, pharisee and those who like Simeon and Cleopas looked for redemption of Israel. He had further failed to satisfy their demands for proof of his exalted claims: a line of objection exploited by the ruling Jewish authorities. These two obstacles correspond to the second and third temptations of Christ: to satisfy the national expectation of a conquering warrior-messiah; and to satisfy the national demand for an over-powering sign and proof from Heaven, of His claims. But the first temptation, concerned with the suffering Christ, pointed to the completing obstacle to belief in His Gospel of the kingdom, and in His claim to be its King. The cross, ever a stumbling block to the Jewish hope of messianic glory, removed all possibility of further interest in His cause. Hence the Apostles had the threefold task of removing this stumbling block of the cross; of establishing His claim to be the Christ, Lord and Son of God; and of winning them for personal devotion to Him in the kingdom as He preached it and as He established it.

They had, on the other hand, in their Jewish propaganda the advantage of addressing men trained by and devoted to the Old Testament religion and the messianic hope of its prophets. Their

Palestinian hearers are also already familiar with the chief events in Christ's life and with the principal teaching of His ministry. They accept the possibility of miracles. And they are trusting for salvation in a coming judgment by means of a covenant union with God, secured by faith and repentance; as this salvation was fully preached by their Scriptures, the Baptist and the Prophet of Galilee. In preaching to men thus prepared, several essential topics in the defense of the Gospel, such as revelation, prophecy and miracle, would be assumed; while in the later propaganda to the Gentiles and in propaganda to-day in Christian and heathen lands, these topics call for direct presentation.

The method of the preachers in winning believers from among the Jews, with such helps and hindrances to faith in Jesus as the Christ, was naturally the method by which Christ Himself had won the Apostles to faith. The difficulties of the apostolic propaganda among their fellow countrymen were at least no greater than those which their Lord had faced and overcome in winning Galilean peasants to belief that Jesus of Nazareth was the promised Messiah; and in transforming them into men assured of their personal salvation and endowed with spiritual power by their faith in him. Their hope of success in preaching the Gospel could therefore be built only on their following the method of their Master, which was besides the only method they knew and the only method we can conceive.

In attempting, however, to trace this genesis of the Apostles' faith, we have first to consider the question of the method of the use of the Gospels as the sources of the history of this genesis. Where these Gospels are regarded as 'creative apologetic' for the later christology of the Church; and where as in many liberal works they are treated as being largely transformations of a simpler gospel of one who was but a prophet and an unique religious genius, it would be indeed arguing in a circle to regard these gospels as the foundations of the faith of those who created or transformed them; since they are the results and not the causes of that faith. It is not possible here to discuss the historical criticism of the Gospels in order to determine directly the question of scientific method which confronts us at this point. Some general considerations will, however, support our method of use of the Synoptic Gospels primarily and the Fourth Gospel as supplementary to

them, in tracing Jesus' method in educating the Twelve to belief in Him as Christ and Lord.

The trend of recent criticism is toward the recognition that the alleged transformation of the Gospel into a defense of the Church christology must in any case have been a primitive rather than a late transformation. It is no longer customary to regard St. Paul as the author of such a transformation. The essential features of his christology were those of the primitive Christians at the date of his conversion, in or before 36 A. D.[9] Our written Gospels likewise, besides their agreement with Pauline views of Christ,[10] present the same fundamental features concerning faith in Christ and the same witness for it as appear outlined in the Oral Gospel in Acts 2, 3, 4, 10 and 13, which indicate the primitive and traditional form of Gospel preaching and defense during the period 30 to 50 A. D. On this view of the essential correspondence of the Gospels with primitive teaching, the question that calls for answer is not merely when or how the faith of the apostolic preachers could have transformed the Gospel of Christ, but when and how His Gospel transformed them: how Galilean peasants and fishermen, with fixed Pharisaic ideals of Old Testament piety and legalism, and with fixed apocalyptic conceptions of the Messiah and the Messianic kingdom, could be transformed into the men of Christian faith as we find them in the Acts and Epistles. Their fellowship with Christ as he is portrayed in the written Gospels of His ministry, death and resurrection fully and alone accounts for their faith. The Gospels have therefore a rightful claim to be used as primary

[9] H. Weinel, *Bib. Theol. N. T.*, pp. 212, 218 in §§ 37, 38; and p. 238: 'Paul is heir also in Christianity. As he stands behind Jesus and is not conceivable without Jesus, so too the great transformation of the Gospel into a message concerning Jesus as the Christ, Lord and Son of God, concerning the resurrection, baptism, and Lord's Supper, had already taken place before he was drawn into the movement.' J. Weiss, *Urchristm.*, p. 341, introduces his exposition of the special developments of Christology by Paul, with the reminder: "We should however misrepresent Paul's complete view, if we did not bear in mind that in his view of faith in Christ, there is also still present a general primitive Christian, and indeed a definitely Jewish Christian substratum upon which the individual—Pauline 'Christ piety' first builds itself." Jülicher, *Paulus u. Jesus*, Rel. Ges. Vbücher, I, 14, p. 69: 'If the religion of Jesus has in any event suffered a definite transformation, then that transformation takes place in the period before Paul's conversion.

[10] Cp. the works cited, p. 73.

sources explanatory of the genesis of the primitive faith instead of being regarded as the transformed products of an early or later faith.

More definitely, the Synoptic Gospels can in particular be used as sources for the history of Christ's discipline of the Twelve in faith, because this history is not based on special sections which have been suspected as created or colored by later dogmatic or apologetic tendency. The development of the Apostles' faith emerges incidentally and indirectly. Since it does not appear within the direct scope of the Evangelists, there can be no thought of their giving an unhistorical view of the subject. Even the confession of St. Peter at Cæsarea Philippi is presented more definitely as a critical stage in Christ's ministry and self-revelation than as the climax of the Apostles' belief around which the Gospel history centered. Further, the present stage of synoptic criticism enables us to use confidently for our purpose the generally recognized sources of the synoptic tradition: Mark; Q, the largely non-marcan discourse material common to Matthew and Luke; and L, the source of the material peculiar to Luke.[11] J. Weiss, *Das Urchristenthum*, p. 8, while regarding our Gospels as influenced by Pauline and ecclesiastical ideas, accepts these sources of the synoptic tradition as originating as to their substance from the primitive Christian community. He also finds, p. 3, that even the Fourth Gospel as well as the other Johannine books contains so much ancient material both in feeling and in mode of thought, that he decided to attempt to call them also as witnesses for his portrayal of the Beginnings of Christianity.

The Fourth Gospel, unlike the Synoptics, shows direct interest in the genesis of Christian faith.[12] In view, however, of the critical discussions concerning the historical character of the discourses or narratives of this Gospel, we shall first ascertain the indications of the synoptic data; and then compare them with the similar indications and statements in the Johannine account. The result of the

[11] Reconstructed in Greek by B. Weiss, *Texte und Untersuchungen*, 1908. Bd. 32: Q, p. 1–75; L, pp. 97–168.

[12] H. S. Holland, *Creed and Character*, 1887, treats this Gospel in the first two sermons as the Story of an Apostle's and Disciple's Faith: "The Fourth Gospel tells how the Apostolic faith was built and established," p. 20.

comparison may itself contribute towards the determination of the historicity of the relevant Johannine material.

Adopting this method of use of our Gospels or their sources in order to ascertain Christ's method of winning the first disciples to belief in him, we can also say with J. Weiss when adopting the same method for his study of Primitive Christianity, p. 2: "The attempt must speak for itself; and the knowledge so obtained must itself show whether it is convincing, free from self-contradiction and possible."

CHAPTER II

THE GENESIS OF THE APOSTLES' FAITH

The genesis of the Apostles' faith was conditioned not only by the nature of the claims Jesus made concerning Himself and by the obstacles to recognition of these claims, but also and primarily by the spiritual character of the Apostles. Their fundamental interest in Him must be a religious interest. This spiritual interest was already manifested by them in their acceptance of the preaching of John the Baptist. With their nation, they came to his baptism confessing their sins and devoting themselves to works worthy of repentance. Whatever other elements were comprised in their messianic hopes of national glory and apocalyptic bliss, the essential blessing in their messianic expectations was to them justification; acceptance in the messianic judgment; entrance into eternal life at the coming redemption of Israel, upon their admission into the Kingdom of God.

This religious attitude was involved in the current apocalyptic idea of the Kingdom coming by means of the sudden entrance of the all holy God into their earthly life; and was also involved in the view of life in the Kingdom as a life in God's presence and as endowed with the gifts of His Spirit.

Lack of such direct religious interest in the preaching of the Kingdom's imminence was of course only too possible. The Baptist saw the necessity of sternest warning against reliance on national Jewish prerogative as Abraham's children, for immunity in the Judgment. But throughout the Gospels, the positively religious character of the Apostles is indicated. Christ has to lament their slowness to understand; but no rebuke is recorded of their sins or lack of spiritual interests, save in the case of Judas. The failure of Christ to win or to retain him, as a believer was due, so far as we can trace his spiritual history, to loss of religious interest and to deterioration of moral character, when his messianic hopes were shattered upon Christ's refusal to be a king, after

the feeding of the five thousand. He has to chide the Apostles for their strife as to precedence (Mk. 10, 42 ff., cp. John 13, 12 ff.); yet even here the gentleness and lofty plane of His reproof, (cp. Mk. 9, 33 ff.,) indicates that their ambitions to be first or greatest were not rooted in self-aggrandisement but in zeal to be chief in devotion to Him and in self-sacrifice for His cause. His own satisfaction and approval is expressed in the facts that He chose them as His Apostles 'that they might be with Him,' (Mk. 3, 14); and that at the last He calls them 'no longer servants but friends,' (John 15, 15).

Their spiritual receptivity expressed in their penitential devotion and in their desire for messianic salvation, was definitely evoked by the Baptist's preaching of the presence among them of an unknown "mightier one" fitted to inaugurate the Kingdom. All men were in expectation, (Lk. 3, 15), and the question arises at this point, whether the Baptist left them to discover or to recognize the Coming One for themselves; or whether he directly testified in addition that Jesus was He of whom he spoke. In the Fourth Gospel, after Jesus' baptism, there is reported the Baptist's direct testimony to a group of his disciples that Jesus is the Lamb of God and Son of God,[1] who has the Spirit abiding on Him and who will Himself baptize with the Spirit. All these titles and descriptions express his messianic character. Even if viewed as originating with the Evangelist, they express his claim, which is repeated in 3, 26; 5, 33–36; 10, 41; that the Baptist gave a personal testimony to Jesus as related to the messianic Kingdom. This claim of the Fourth Gospel may be tested by the references to their relations in the Synoptics and Acts. In the summaries of the Oral Gospel in Acts 10, 37 ff. and 13, 24 f., among the fixed lines of proof of Jesus' messiahship is the ministry of the Baptist. Paul in his synagogue address when advancing from the Old Testament predictions of the Christ to their fulfilment in Jesus, begins with a reference to the Baptist's ministry and to his testimony to the coming of the more exalted One. Although the report of the address does not contain a personal testimony of the Baptist to Jesus, yet since the Apostle is not here concerned to give in detail a history of the Gospel movement to which the Baptist's ministry was an introduction, but to give the several lines of

[1] Zahn adopts the reading ἐκλεκτός.

proof of Jesus' messiahship, the prominence of his reference to the Baptist presents the probability that the full discourse contained his direct testimony in support of the Apostle's thesis. This probability is strengthened by the similar compressed reference in Peter's oral Gospel to Cornelius, Acts 10, 37 f. To the mention of John's baptism is added the statement that God anointed Jesus with the Holy Ghost and with power. If with commentators in general, Christ's baptism by John is here alluded to, the report of his anointing with the Spirit would naturally come from the Baptizer to some of his disciples; and it would be in itself his testimony to them of Jesus' messiahship. Still more definitely in the Synoptic Gospels, Matthew 3, 13 ff. reports John's impression of Jesus' excelling spiritual worth; and all the Synoptists report the descent of the Spirit at Jesus' baptism and the heavenly voice acclaiming Him as Beloved Son. In Mark and Luke the Voice is addressed to Jesus. But a consideration of the narrative itself supports the view that the voice was heard also by the Baptist. For an audible voice would not be needed if addressed to Christ alone; and there is no ground for conceiving this theophany as an autobiographical communication by Christ. The First Evangelist by reporting the words 'This is my beloved Son,' indicates as does the Fourth Evangelist that the theophany was not only Jesus' spiritual experience, but was as well a divine communication to His prophet on the Jordan. As such it would be the basis of his conviction of Jesus' office and of his direct testimony to Him.

A well-known objection is raised against the Baptist's conviction and testimony to Jesus' messiahship in view of his later message, 'Art Thou He that cometh or look we for another' (Mtw. 11, 2 ff., Lk. 7, 18 ff. from Q). But upon examination the section directly supports the other indications of John's personal testimony to Jesus. The Baptist's question does not, as Loisy and others suppose, express his dawning sense that Jesus' works may be pointing Him out as Messiah. Such a theory is at once seen to be inconsistent with Mtw. 11, 6, the warning in the beatitude: 'blessed is he whosoever shall find no occasion of stumbling in me.' And this warning points to an earlier conviction of Jesus' messiahship, now clouded with perplexity concerning Jesus' ministry and works of mercy and pardon, in utter contrast to the

dread work of initial judgment which the Baptist had expected and preached. Had there been no such earlier personal conviction in regard to Jesus, we can conceive of no ground for the Baptist's perplexity. And that there had been this conviction and a personal testimony to Jesus, is equally the assumption underlying Christ's emphatic testimony to John as a prophet and more than a prophet. Such a vindication would be needed only if the multitude had learned that John had given some personal witness to Jesus with a prophet's certainty, and now seemed to be wavering or in perplexity concerning his earlier witness. If, on the contrary, his testimony had been simply that the Kingdom was imminent and that the unknown mightier One was among them, there would have been no occasion to reassure the multitude that John was still a prophet despite his perplexed inquiry concerning Jesus.

One clear result of the Baptist's ministry was that the Apostles' discipleship to Jesus was from the first based on their messianic interest in Him. This can be recognized in the Marcan account of the first association of the Four with Jesus upon His call: Come after me and I will make you fishers of men (Mk. 1, 16). The explanation of their immediate response, with the sacrifice of home and lifework, is in the Marcan statements introducing it. It is the result of the Baptist's ministry and announcement of the imminent coming of the inaugurator of the messianic kingdom; of his personal witness, as indicated above, to the revelation of Jesus as the Messiah at His baptism; and of Jesus' preaching that the time is fulfilled and the Kingdom at hand. To 'come after' Him, was therefore to be associated with His preaching of the messianic kingdom. To leave all 'for His sake and the Gospel's sake,' (Mk. 10, 28 f.) showed that they recognized in Him the One mightier than the Baptist, who made no demand for personal following, and called for no sacrifice or abandonment of their homes. Yet the call is so abrupt; the sacrifice to be made is so absolute; the nature of the new work so undefined, that the question constantly arises in view of the seemingly mutual understanding between the Four and Christ and of their alacrity to respond, whether Mark's account does not point to an earlier acquaintance and relationship. Luke's rearrangement of the Marcan order of the events in this section implies his intention to supply grounds on

which the prompt obedience of the Four can be more clearly understood. He places the group of miracles and the first preaching tour which in Mark, (1, 21–39,) immediately follow their call, immediately before the call (Lk. 4, 31–44). The call itself is accompanied by a miraculous draught of fishes; and the whole section is introduced by Jesus' visit and sermon in Nazareth. In this arrangement the response to the call was the result of the impression of Christ's personality, His gracious word and His words with power, His miracles, one of which had been wrought in Peter's home and one in the sphere of His work; and probably in Luke's intention was also the result of their knowledge of His claim in Nazareth (4, 21) that the messianic prophecy was fulfilled in His Gospel preaching. While this rearrangement provides the necessary explanation of the response of the Four to the call to follow Jesus in His messianic work, it is not based except in the Nazareth narrative taken from Luke's special source, on any source other than Mark. All indications, however, point to the probability that Mark has here preserved the historical sequence of the events connected with this call of the Four. In such case their messianic interest in Jesus, and their personal faith in Him is not accounted for by their previous relations with Him in Galilee. It is, however, definitely accounted for by their earlier acquaintance with Him as recorded in the Fourth Gospel, to which we will now turn.

According to the Fourth Gospel, a ministry of probably a year's duration and principally in Judea, (John 1 to 5,) preceded the call of the Four to join Him in a new form of ministry in Galilee. When this is accepted, their call and their response, (Mk. 1, 16 ff.,) is fully explained along the lines of Luke's indications of the preparation needed to receive and obey the call. This preparation is shown in the Fourth Gospel as the result of their previous personal acquaintance and association with Christ and with His teaching and work.

Without entering into the discussion of the critical question raised by the contrasted Synoptic and Johannine types of Gospel, it will suffice for the present purpose to indicate the Johannine view of Christ's Judean ministry, and to recognize that if it was historical it would naturally issue into the form, method and character of the Galilean ministry of the Synoptics.

In the Fourth Gospel the public ministry is first addressed to the nation, corporately. Christ's public self-manifestation begins appropriately at the nation's capital; during the national feast; in the national shrine; and before the nation's rulers. His first act of cleansing the Temple is a revelation of His will to purify the nation preparatory to the inauguration of the Kingdom. As messianic king, He manifests His authority; much more, claims God as His own Father. His discourse with Nicodemus, a ruler of the Jews, is replete with even more definite and profounder self-revelations. This initial self-presentation having ended in practical rejection, He engages in supplementing the work of the Baptist in purifying and preparing the nation; and finally returns to Jerusalem, (John 5), to compel the nation's leaders to a definite decision. By His Sabbath miracle he evokes the rulers' attacks on His work and claim; meets it by most definite declarations of His Sonship; and supports these by several lines of witnesses, (5, 31 ff.). The rulers' rejection of Him and their resolve to kill Him, ends this Judean ministry. Such rejection by the rulers of the Church of Israel in Judea naturally determines the scene, character and methods of His subsequent ministry, as we find it recorded in the Synoptic Gospels. It is a ministry in Galilee; is addressed to individuals; is characterized by preaching the Gospel of the Kingdom, which gradually transforms both by word and deed the zealotic, pharisaic and popular conceptions of it; and in connection with this preaching, it is further characterized by the beginnings of organization of the Kingdom by personal calls to discipleship and apostleship. When therefore the Fourth Gospel's early Judean ministry is regarded as historical, the beginnings of the Apostles' faith are not to be sought at their call in Mk. 1, 16, to the new work of the Galilean ministry, but in connection with their first meeting with Christ, in the previous year, as recorded in John 1, 35 to 2, 11.

It is, however, constantly urged as an objection to the historicity of this section, that these first disciples recognized immediately that Jesus was the Messiah. The Evangelist in fact records this recognition in clearest terms; and his record shows itself to be inherently probable, since it shows that this recognition would be the reasonable outcome both of their expectations and also of the impression made upon them by Jesus at their first meeting with

Him. For they came to Him as men made expectant by the Baptist's preaching for the appearance of Messiah; and still more definitely, if John and the Synoptics have been rightly interpreted, as men possessing the Baptist's personal witness to Jesus. They were besides, men with spiritual receptivity for Jesus' self-revelations; and it is this which is distinctly emphasized by the Evangelist as the condition for the genesis of their faith.

To these expectant, open-hearted men the initial belief in Jesus' Messiahship had as its foundation and as the coefficient of all other forms of witness, Jesus' own personality. His self-witness in His life and character of holiness and love; His words such as never man spake and as they were now heard for the first time; His power to pierce down into their own lives and personalities, and find them; His spiritual exaltation and serenity that yet shared their abode, journeys and life in meekness and lowliness; in a word His unique and incomparable Presence constrained their reverence, affection and devotion of faith. That faith in Andrew and his companion is the direct outcome of their abiding with Jesus that first day. Peter's discovery of the Christ in Jesus, rests on Jesus' discovery of him; on His penetrating insight into Peter's inmost life and future growth in character. Philip came and saw in Jesus' personality, words and character, the mightier and worthier One of whom Moses and the prophets wrote and to whom the Baptist witnessed. Nathanael, with the same expectancy yet with demands for a supreme type of holiness and divine fellowship, recognizes the Christ in Jesus' supernatural knowledge of his own inner life of devotion; and receives the promise of still greater divine witness to Him. If earlier the crowds mused in their hearts whether the Baptist were the Christ, and if later the crowds, with far less intimate association with Jesus debated whether He were the Christ, there is no reason to set aside the Johannine record that under the soul-stirring impression of the personality of Jesus, the earliest disciples became His followers under the conviction of His messianic character. This same conviction reappears in and furnishes the needed explanation of the Synoptic record, (Mk. 1, 16 and plls.,) of their prompt sacrifice of all earthly interests and of their self-devotion to His service, in the belief that His work was to be messianic work and that he was essentially related to the Kingdom.

A further development of this initial belief as recorded in the Fourth Gospel, into the definite faith of their later confessions and ultimate convictions, was obviously required in view of the fact that on their first association with Him there was as yet no manifestation of what to them were some of the essential messianic characteristics. The Man of despised Nazareth exhibited no external feature of the glorious Messiah of the Old Testament predictions. He gave no indication of beginning the messianic judgment which the Baptist announced. His references to the Kingdom, both in the early chapters of John and equally in the Galilean preaching in the Synoptics were at variance with the current apocalyptic expectations. Their continued faith in Him despite the continued absence of these messianic features, points, therefore, to their developing recognition and acceptance of the character of His Messiahship as He revealed it to them. We can mark critical stages of this development not only in the Synoptics at Peter's confession, (Mk. 8, 29,) but also in John. Long after the initial confessions in the first chapter of John, we find Peter's confession, "We have believed and know that Thou are the Holy One of God," (Jno. 6, 69); and at the conclusion of the Last Supper the Eleven confess, "Now know we that Thou knowest all things: by this we believe that Thou camest forth from God," (Jno. 16, 30).

The method of developing their faith in the Christ as Jesus revealed Himself to be, in contrast to the Christ of the current messianism, is identical in both the Johannine and Synoptic records. It is already forecast in His attitude to the professions of his Messiahship made by the first disciples in John 1, 41 ff. Although they employ a full series of definite messianic titles, He Himself while not disavowing them, describes Himself by none of them. He calls Himself the Son of Man. It is His self-chosen title in response to His disciples' willingness to regard Him as the Christ. By His use of it in all the Gospels, He transformed the leading contemporary conceptions of the Messiah and of the Messianic Kingdom. What He, in whom the first disciples believe they have found the Christ, truly is as the Son of Man, will be revealed in the historic progress of His life; and more definitely by His statements concerning Himself as the Son of Man and by the various Old

Testament uses of the term.[2] At the definite crises in John and the Synoptics when He will test the growth and character of their faith in Him, it is in connection with His use of this self-designation. When many of His disciples went back and He appealed to the Twelve: Would ye also go away, the occasion was His statements concerning Himself as the Son of Man in John 6, 27, 53 and 62. Similarly Peter's confession at Cæsarea Philippi is in response to the demand: Who do men say, do ye say that the Son of Man is (Mtw. 16, 13). In both instances, to the responsive faith of Peter and the Apostles, the Son of Man as Jesus had revealed Himself to be, was realized to be indeed the Christ of their first hopes and professions. The addition in Mtw. 16, 17: the Son of the living God, which Sanday is disposed to accept, (*H. D. B.*, IV, 572 a, 574 b) in spite of Dalman's rejection of it (*Words of Jesus*, p. 274), recalls that along with the self-designation as the Son of Man, was Jesus' constant interest in presenting His Messianic work as related to His Sonship to God. He who is the Son of Man brings also the complete revelation of the Father's life and truth and of His Father's grace in the establishment of the kingdom of redemption.[3]

The mode of this revelation of Himself to His Apostles as the Son of Man and the Son of God, in order to impart to them true conceptions of the person and work of the Christ they believed they had found in Him, is most intimate personal association with Himself. In the several recorded calls to disciples, the invitation is primarily to share His life and experiences; to imbibe His teachings; to coöperate in His work; to be identified with Him in spirit: in the phrase of the Gospels, "to be with Him." The Synoptics and John are at one in this view of the basis of discipleship. In John the first two followers seek this personal fellowship: "Where dwellest Thou"; and are welcomed with: "Come and ye shall

[2] Dalman, *Words of Jesus*, IX, 6, holds, however, that the investigation of the statements in which Jesus designates Himself as the Son of Man leads, in view of their multiformity, to no result in the determination of its meaning. He decides that Christ took the title from Dan. 7, 13, and very probably found 'The Son of Man' of Dan. 7 in Ps. 8, 5 ff. also. Others whose positions are summarized by N. Schmidt, *Ency. Bib. s. v.* Son of Man, § 24, consider that several other O. T. passages and ideas are united in the self-designation.

[3] Cp. Sanday, *H. D. B.*, IV, 576 a, who also refers to Holtzmann, *N. T. Theologie* I, p. 281 f.

see." Their confession of faith is the outcome of the fact that they "abode with Him." Philip is called to follow Him, first on His journey to Galilee. Nathanael is invited to 'come and see' Him, in following whom for one day, Philip had been convinced of the fulfillment in Him of the Old Testament predictions.

In Mk. 1, 16, the Four are called to be trained as fishers of men. Yet the sole method of training is: 'Come ye after me.' The Apostles are chosen, (Mk. 3, 14,) for definite work; and again, the aim in their selection is: "that they might be with Him" and thereby be trained for His work. Their Lord's description of them at the close of His life is: 'ye that have continued with me, *οἱ διαμεμενηκότες μετ' ἐμοῦ*, in my temptations' (Lk. 22, 28; cp. Jno. 15, 1 to 17). The Sanhedrin, (Acts 4, 13,) account for the Apostles' boldness by recognizing that they had been with Jesus. Similarly the Apostles describe His ministry as the whole period in which He 'went in and went out among us,' from the Baptist's ministry until the Ascension.[4] They are to be his witnesses, (Jno. 15, 27), because: 'ye have been with me from the beginning.' In contrast to the three classes in the Parable of the Sower in whom Christ's ministry made no lasting impression, these Apostles were neither hardened by prejudice, nor moved by a merely superficial interest, nor lacking in detachment from worldly interests. But with open-hearted, whole-hearted and single-hearted devotion, they answered the call, 'Follow me.' And in their continuous most intimate association and communion of life with Him, they were experiencing as the true foundation of their belief in Him as the Christ who was to redeem Israel, the fulfillment in themselves of His promise: Come unto me; learn of me; and ye shall find rest unto your souls.

For in their coming and learning of Him in closest intimacy of a common life shared by Him and them, He was able most fully to reveal Himself. As He went about with them doing good, as He taught them in public or instructed them in private, as He spent His whole life among them, they recognized His perfect filial spirit; His abiding communion with the Father; His absolute

[4] Thayer-Grimm, *s. v.* *εἰσέρχομαι*, 1 a: 'to go in and out,' representing a Hebrew phrase, "is used of familiar intercourse with one." *Εἰσ-* and *ἐκπορεύομαι* (Acts 9, 28) is used similarly of St. Paul's life in Jerusalem, cp. Gal. 1, 18.

obedience and devotion to the Father's will; His purity and sinlessness; His brotherly love for men as His Father's children; His hope for the world's salvation and His self-devotion to its accomplishment at any cost of struggle and supreme self-sacrifice. They saw in Him one that serves; that came not to be ministered unto but to minister. In contrast to the wicked husbandmen in the parable, (Mk. 12, 6) they reverenced the Son.

The correlate of this self-witness of His life and character as Son, was the witness of the Father. They saw reflected in Him and expressed by Him the spirit, love and will of God. For sharing His life of communion with God in prayer and loving service, they realized more and more that they were living with Him in the divine presence. Just as "we turn again and again to the portraiture of his divine presence which lives in the Gospels, to every trait of holiness, of sacrifice, of mercy, of calm reproof and gracious encouragement," so they knew as "we know, that in these we have the image of our Father." [5] Throughout the Synoptic Gospels, He based all His teachings, acts, promises, sufferings, and offices on the assertions that they were the expressions of the Father's will, truth, power and redeeming love. Their acceptance of this claim was based on their recognition of the direct divine witness to this perfect revelation of God's Fatherhood in Jesus' life of Sonship. "As soon as the thought of 'the Fatherhood of God' is gained, it is felt that 'the Son' expresses it absolutely. The witness of the perfect coincidence therefore finds its cogency in the response which it calls out from the soul of man. Man recognizes the voice as naturally and supremely authoritative." [6]

The indications of this claim of divine witness and of the Apostles' recognition of it, which are inwoven in the Synoptic tradition are

[5] Westcott, *Revelation of the Father*, p. 143. Similarly H. R. Mackintosh, *Expository Times*, Vol. 27, p. 346 ff., The Revelation of God in Christ: "It is still as true as in the first century that Jesus 'reflects God's bright glory and is stamped with God's own character,' Heb. 1, 3. All that we have to say (and it is much) about the unveiling of God in the Old Testament, in the course of history and the constitution of man, or in the world of Nature, must be subsumed under, and controlled by, the self-delineation he has given in our Lord.' And, 'we are made immediately aware that in this Man God is personally present.'

[6] Westcott, *St. John*, p. XLV.

paralleled and developed in the constant direct statements of the Fourth Gospel. The definite assertions of this divine witness in John 5, 31 ff., 7, 16 ff., 8, 18 ff., etc., are summed up at the close of the ministry, (Jno. 14, 8 ff.) in the reply to Philip's request, "Show us the Father, and it sufficeth us: Have I been so long time with you, and dost thou not know Me? He that has seen Me hath seen the Father. Believest thou not that I am in the Father and the Father in Me? The Father abiding in Me doeth His works."

The witness of the Son and the Father is combined in the witness of His words. As in Mk. 9, 10, the three disciples seized and clung to His word concerning the resurrection,[7] so the Synoptics constantly report his word as filling the multitudes now with astonishment at their power and authority; and now with wonder as being words of grace. In all cases they were words that to them that had ears to hear, revealed and illuminated the Father's will, the Old Testament revelation, the mysteries of the Kingdom, the secrets of human hearts. If even the multitudes pressed upon Him to hear in this witness of His words the word of God, and the common people heard Him gladly, we can the better realize the influence of His words in the genesis of the faith of the Apostles, who were the constant hearers both of His public teaching and of His private instruction; and who accepted it as the revelation of the Father who has delivered all things to the Son, (Mt. 11, 27,) whose words shall not pass away. The Fourth Gospel but repeats this Synoptic view of the impressiveness, authority and compelling force of the witness of His words. It is the Temple officers of the common people, (Jno. 7, 49.46) who say: Never man so spake! It is the Apostles who say: Thou hast words of eternal life, (Jno. 6, 68). It is Jesus Himself who declares: I spake not from Myself; but the Father hath given Me a commandment what I should say and what I should speak, (Jno. 12, 49).

The Synoptics and John share the same view of Christ's works: they are the witnesses of the Father to Him and through Him. In Luke 11, 20, his exorcisms are by the finger of God: in the Matthew parallel, (12, 28,) they are by the Spirit of God. Simi-

[7] Gould, *St. Mark in loc.* shows this to be the meaning of the Evangelist, and not as B. Weiss holds: they observed the command of silence in vs. 9.

larly in John, (14, 10): the Father abiding in Me doeth His works; and the works which the Father hath given Me to accomplish bear witness of Me that the Father hath sent Me, (5, 36). They are thus not merely evidences of His Messiahship, but revelations of the redemptive power in His life. They are a divine witness to His Sonship; and definitely, to the power and purpose of His Sonship to reveal and accomplish the Father's redeeming will through the Son's administration of the Father's sovereignty.

This fourfold witness in the revelation of Himself in the closest intimacy and communion of life with the Twelve, was steadily developing their faith to recognize in such a Son of Man and Son of God, the fulfillment both of the Old Testament ideals and redemptive prophecies and also of the Baptist's predictions of the coming One, bringing in the Messianic Kingdom with its gifts of the Spirit: even the faith to recognize Him as the Christ of God.

The several lines of witness to Christ in the Fourth Gospel are grouped and discussed by Westcott, *Gospel of St. John*, pp. XLIV to XLVII: The Truth and the Witness. He points out seven types of witness which "cover the whole range of the possible proof of religious truth, internal and external. The witness of the Father and of Christ Himself is internal, and rests on the correspondence of the Gospel with that absolute idea of the divine which is in man. The witness of works and of Scripture is external and historical and draws its force from the signs which the Gospel gives of fulfilling a divine purpose. The witness of the prophet and of the disciples is personal and experiential and lies in the open declaration of what men have found the Gospel to be. Lastly, the witness of the Spirit is for the believer the crown of assurance and the pledge of the progress of the Truth." The subject is discussed in further detail in his exegesis of Chap. 5, 31 to 47: The witness to the Son and the ground of unbelief.

Along with these forms of witness was developing the witness in themselves: a growth of sympathy, union and identification with His own mind, spirit and life. The Yea of His self-witness had become more and more the Amen of their personal experience. This gradual growth into the mind of Christ was the condition of clearer response of faith to His increasing self-revelations, and of distincter understanding of His teachings concerning the Kingdom. The development can be traced in connection both with His

personal ministry to the Twelve,[8] and also with His ministry of inevitable conflict, which issued in their further confirmation in faith.

[8] As in Bruce, *Training of the Twelve;* Latham, *Pastor Pastorum:* the Schooling of the Apostles by our Lord, 1891; Forrest, *The Christ of History and of Experience,* 1901: Methods of Christ's Self-manifestation, pp. 106–128, and esp. to the Twelve, p. 129 f.

CHAPTER III

THE POLEMIC IN THE GOSPELS

We have already recognized that conflict would be an inevitable accompaniment of Christ's ministry. On what issues it would arise and on what lines it would be conducted, would be determined by the attitude, expectations and spiritual receptivity of the various classes of the nation.[1] This ministry which was introduced by the Baptist as a messianic movement and was adopted as such by the earliest disciples, challenged attention both as to its nationalist character and also as to its religious and theological features. Its relation to Israel's national life and future, which would involve its relation to the Roman world-dominance, was obviously the element of essential interest to the ruling classes: Roman officials, Sadducean rulers and Herodians; and at the other extreme, of the party of Zealots: the irreconcilable propagandists of messianic revolution. On the other hand, its relation to the religious ideals of Israel's written and Oral Law and to the predictions of Israel's prophets and apocalyptists, would be the direct concern of the Pharisees and their adherents, whose chief interest was in rabbinism and in varying forms of apocalyptic messianism; and also of the "Quiet in the Land," like the group in Luke, Chaps. 1 and 2 and in 24, 21.

Although Christ was finally put to death by a combination of the former class of ruling officials, His death was in reality the outcome of the persistent opposition of His theological opponents in the latter group. The Sadducean proposal, (John 11, 49,) to make the charge that continuance of Christ's ministry would tend to stir up sedition against Rome, (vs. 48,) is evidently a change of policy. Hitherto as rulers of the State under the Romans, they had let Him go on. In the Fourth Gospel up to this point, there has been no

[1] Schürer, *H. J. P.*,I I, Vol. 2, pp. 4 ff.; 126 ff.; 188 f.; Buhl, *H. D. B.* V, p. 45, N. T. Times; and the articles in *H. D. B.* on the various parties,, with bibliographies; G. Hoennicke *Das Judenchristenthum*, p. 36 f.

interference by Jewish or Roman official on the ground of danger of a political character. Similarly in the Synoptics, His Galilean and Perean ministry is free from interference and from controversy with the officials of Herod. The Herodians' plan to destroy Him, (Mk. 3, 6,) was characteristic of their policy to forestall any possible issue of a new popular movement, so closely related to that of the Baptist, who was now in Herod's prison; and the Tetrarch's wish to kill Jesus, (Luke 13, 31,) seems based in addition on his superstitious fears, (Mk. 6, 14 ff.). But their final plot with the Pharisees to entangle Him through a decision concerning tribute to Cæsar, shows that throughout His ministry Christ had successfully avoided any political conflict with the Jewish or Imperial authorities. His death on the charge of sedition first introduced the Jewish charge of Christians' disloyalty to Rome, which meets us constantly in the Apostolic propaganda.

There is no reason to suppose any direct relation or controversy with the Zealots. Both their intense sympathy with Pharisaism, (Josephus, *Antiq.* 18, 16,) and the complete absence of political messianism in Christ's preaching concerning the Kingdom, would prevent their interest in His Gospel. If the thought, (John 6, 15,) to take Him by force and make Him a king, proceeded from them, it was a sudden new impulse; and it was immediately dispelled by Christ's withdrawal. The fact that the Apostle Simon is called a Zealot is insufficient to prove that Christ had relations with the party in general. More indeed could be said in favor of Judas Iscariot's interest in Christ and his defection as having been based on a Zealot's hope and disappointment. His defection is first mentioned the day after Christ's refusal to be king, (John 6, 15. 70 f.); his betrayal of Christ occurs the day after Christ's recognition of Cæsar's right to tribute.

The principal element of controversy in the Gospels is therefore connected with the opposition of the popular leaders of the religious life and teaching: the Pharisees and Scribes. With their attacks the Sadducean and Herodian rulers would ordinarily be in sympathy. At times they would be the allies of the Pharisees, especially in Jerusalem; but at length, (John 11, 47 ff.,) taunted them with their ineffectiveness, and thereupon took upon themselves the leadership in accomplishing Christ's destruction. This persistent pharisaic opposition was evoked not by direct claims

of messiahship, but by the same method of self-revelation as evoked the faith of the Apostles. Owing to the avowed aim of the Fourth Gospel, (20, 31,) to establish faith that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, is due the prominence of the controversies in which Christ's self-affirmations are called forth by the denials and rejections of His opponents.[2] In the Synoptics, though written with wider scope, will be found a closely similar controversial element. For comparison, we first trace its main features in St. John. There the opponents are ordinarily "the Jews," five times they are "the high priests and Pharisees," (7, 32.45; 11, 47.57; 18, 3); in general they are the hostile rulers and leaders of the people. That the Pharisees are the prime movers in the concerted attacks of these rulers may be concluded both from the mentions of their direct conflicts with Christ and from the statements that they were the principals or instigators of attacks upon Him, (7, 32.47; 9, 13 ff.; 11, 46; 12, 42). It is, however, no doubt true that 'the Jews,' (2, 18), who demand a sign and warrant for His implicit claim of authority over the Temple and the national life and worship, are clearly the Sadducean rulers, in control of the Temple.[3] But His enigmatic response, which neither 'the Jews' nor His disciples understood, precluded controversy with the Sadducean questioners. A similar treatment of the Sanhedrin's demand is found in the synoptic account of the Temple cleansing, Mtw. 21, 23: a question concerning the authority of the Baptist, and a reference (Mtw. 21, 42) to a stone rejected by the Temple builders becoming the corner stone; a reference repeated in Acts 4, 11, by the Apostles in reply to the Sadducean question as to the source of their miraculous power.

The Pharisees, however, are interested first of all in Christ's teaching. Parallel with the synoptic references to Christ's frequent conciliatory method with them, we can recognize in John's brief report of Christ's meeting with Nicodemus, (3, 1 to 15), the essential features of His message to these Pharisaic Teachers in Israel. It can here be given to one who despite lifelong theological prepossessions is still relatively receptive, and who besides is impressed with the loftiness of Jesus' personal character and with the

[2] This is the principal thesis elaborated by W. Richmond in his discussion of the Fourth Gospel as the *Gospel of Rejection*, p. 28 ff.

[3] So B. Weiss: 'the hierarchy as in 1, 19'; Edersheim: 'the Temple officials.'

spiritual significance of His miracles. To Him the Gospel is revealed as supplanting salvation through legalism by its free gift of a new birth, (vs. 3). Jewish particularism and sole claim of divine election to the blessings of the Kingdom is refuted by the assertion that admission to the Kingdom is the universal privilege of all who accept this new birth from God's free Spirit, (vs. 5 to 8). Freedom from legalism and particularism upon spiritual rebirth, points also, (vs. 6), to a life in the Spirit, (cp. Rom. 8, 2) in contrast to life in the flesh. The answer, (vs. 11 to 13) to 'how these things can be,' is that this Gospel is grounded upon his personal witness: upon the revelation of the heavenly things in Himself, the Son of Man from heaven; and likewise, (vs. 14, 15), upon the offer to faith of redemption and eternal life secured in the Son of Man's exaltation through death. Thus the Fourth Gospel presents the characteristic elements of Christ's response to Pharisaic interest in His teaching. And the Evangelist's comment, (vs. 16 to 21), states the spiritual principles which determine their acceptance or rejection of this Gospel resting on Jesus' claim of Sonship. In all the later controversies with the Pharisees, the interest necessarily centers on this prior fundamental question of His Sonship. Upon the Sabbath healing of the impotent man in John 5, He claims authority to heal on the Sabbath by reason of His filial union with the Father, which is stated in most explicit and absolute terms, (5, 19 to 30). He again offers as evidence supporting this claim, the same witness which evoked His Apostles' faith. The self-attestation is valid because of the witness of the Father in His life and words, (30.38 b. 43 cp. 7, 16 to 18; 8, 26; 12, 49); and in His works, 'inclusive of all His spiritual ministry,' (Riggs). He has in addition the preparatory prophetic witness of the Baptist, (33 to 35); and the Father's witness to Him in the Old Testament, (37 to 40; 46.47). Their rejection of all these forms of witness is due to their rejection of the unifying witness of the Spirit in their personal experience. They had not seen in Jesus' words and life the voice and form of God, (37.38), because they had not 'spiritual aptitude for discerning the presence and revelation of God, however and wherever made,' (Milligan-Moulton); and had not therefore God's word abiding in them; and had not, (41 to 44), the love of God in themselves, making them responsive to its manifestation in Christ. Finally their charge, (vs. 18), that He is destroying the Sabbath is turned

against themselves, (41 to 47); for Moses the Lawgiver is their accuser for the rejection of Him to whom his writings and institutions pointed. Their outward zeal for the law became spiritual rebellion, (Westcott).

The teachings of these early chapters are developed along the same fundamental lines in later chapters, leading to increasing definiteness of Christ's self-revelation and claim, and to fuller explication of the essential forms of witness.[4] Before considering the controversies of those chapters, we may pass to the conflicts in the Synoptics which intervened, according to the view here held that the events in John, chaps. 1 to 5, preceded the Galilean ministry.

In the Synoptics Christ's controversy with the opposing Jewish leaders is presented in its relations with the wider range of interest and topics in those gospels, and is given in several distinct sections. In Mark 2, 1 to 3, 6, are recorded five conflicts with scribes and Pharisees, as a counterpart to the initial popular enthusiasm in the Galilean ministry. In similar contrast to increasing popular favor, is given in 3, 22 to 30, Christ's repulse of their charge of league with Beelzebul. At the crisis of the Galilean ministry occurs in 7, 1 to 23, his definite break with them on the issue of the Oral Law. In 8, 11–13, their demand for a sign from heaven is refused, just before the Apostle's confession of his Messiahship. Finally in 12, 38 to 40, His public ministry closes with a summary denunciation of the scribes.

Matthew incorporates all these controversies, and in the Marcan sequence of the sections as wholes. In addition, he repeats in 12, 38 ff., the demand for a sign. With the Marcan material he has combined the controversy section of Q, Two topics of this Q section are combined with Marcan and other matter to form Matthew's controversial twelfth Chapter; and its last topic appears as the final denunciation of the scribes and Pharisees in Chap. 23.

[4] Th. Calmes, *L'Évangile selon Saint Jean*, 1904, p. 296: Toutes les discussions que l'on rencontre dans le IV^e Évang. entre Jésus et les Juifs, ses ennemis, roulent sur un même fond doctrinal: divinité et éternité du Verbe, son union avec le Père, sa mission rédemptrice. Mais ces idées sont rendues, selon les circonstances, d'une manière plus ou moins explicite. . . . La chose en question, dans les disputes que reproduit le IV^e Évang., c'est la mission messianique de Jésus; la base de l'argumentation, c'est son caractère divin.

Luke reproduces Mark's first and last group in the same position; omits the conflict concerning the Oral Law and the demand for a sign just before the Day at Cæsarea, as he omits the whole section of Mark, (6, 45 to 8, 26), of which they form a part. But both of these topics and the Beelzebul charge appear as parts of a special controversy section, 11, 14 to 54, formed from Q, Mark and Luke's special source L. This section is imbedded in the longer section 10, 25 to 18, 14, containing additional reports from L of Christ's relations with scribes and Pharisees, which reproduce his experiences of their hostility and his teachings concerning them and their oppositions, which are found in the reports of Mark and Q. While in some of these Marcan sections there are probably, and in their Matthew and Luke parallels there are certainly groupings on a topical rather than a chronological basis, yet both the topics of the several groups and the naturalness of their sequence point strongly to the general correctness of their chronological arrangement in Mk, and to the actual stages of the historic progress of the controversy. The divergence of the Lucan order of the conflicts will be considered where it first appears.

1. All the Synoptists agree in recording as the occasion of the first conflicts in Galilee, the rising tide of popular enthusiasm caused by Christ's preaching and miracles of healing. On the view already stated, the controversies in John, Chaps. 1 to 5, occurred before the opening of this Galilean ministry; and the presence of the scribes, (Mk. 2, 6,) or Pharisees and doctors of the law, (Mk. 5.17,) would indicate their purpose to inquire into the character of this new phase and method of ministry. On the opposite view that Christ's ministry began not in Judea but in Galilee, we find that His first preaching tour brings these religious leaders to Capernaum, as Luke says from every village of Galilee, Judea and Jerusalem; evidently to investigate the beginnings of this new movement. The result is the five conflicts in Mk. 2, 1 ff.; and in the same position in Lk. 5, 17 ff. In connection with the First Evangelist's literary plan, the first three conflicts are presented together in Mtw. 9, 1 to 17; while the last two form the introduction to the next controversy section, Chap. 12.[5] In this

[5] Summaries of literary criticism affecting this Marcan section are given in Moffat's *Introduction*, p. 227 f. His own view (pp. 222, 231) is that in this 'cycle of conflict stories, the first probably existed in the Ur-Marcus in a

Marcan section and indeed in all the Synoptic reports of the Pharisaic controversy, it is noticeable that Christ changes from the simpler style and levels of Galilean peasant instruction, to enigmatic and profound utterances and to compressed argumentative allusions, such as He uses in the Johannine discourses addressed to the Pharisees and rulers. Here in these initial Galilean conflicts, His preaching of the Kingdom is shown in act and word to be in direct contrast to dominant features of pharisaism; and definitely to their conceptions of messianic salvation as related to legalism, sacrifices, ceremonial fastings, separation from all things or men that are common or unclean, and to a rigorous mechanical view of Old Testament revelation. For the paralytic is granted forgiveness of sins freely, without reference to law and sacrifice. One claiming to be absolving Son of Man, enters into fellowship not with those who boast of their righteousness but with outcast publicans and sinners; and even admits one of them to be a sharer of His ministry of preaching the Kingdom. Joy and gladness is the abiding keynote of the new Gospel, controlling and spiritualizing fasting as a free expression of piety. The Old Testament and its sabbath law is to be interpreted not by the casuistry of the Schools, but by sympathy with the merciful intentions and gracious mind of the divine Lawgiver.

The basis of these antipharisaic revelations of the true nature of messianic salvation is as before in the Fourth Gospel, the authoritative self-witness of Jesus. He claims to be the Son of Man with the divine prerogative to forgive sins on earth; to be the Lord of the Sabbath; to be the Bridegroom instituting a festal new life with new forms of devotion and with a new spirit of freedom. Along with this self-attestation in life and word, is the Father's witness in the healing of the paralytic at the word of the Son who pronounced his forgiveness. If those commentators [6] are right who

detached form'; the second and third are merely connected topically, and 'it is impossible to be sure . . . that both debates or either occurred at so early a period'; the fourth and fifth 'are set in very vague connections of time; and the allusion to the Pharisees and Herodians is again proleptic.' He adds, however: 'but the fact that Jesus had already raised the suspicions of the authorities explains the inquisitorial visits of the Jerusalem scribes in 3, 22 and 7, 1.'

[6] *E. g.*, Plummer, *St. Luke*, on 9, 34; Zahn, *Evg. d. Matthäus*, on 9, 15, p. 376. In spite of the veiled wording of the thought, Jesus reckons on the under-

find in Mk. 2, 19, an allusion to the Baptist's reference to Christ as the bridegroom, (John 3, 29), the Baptist's disciples are here reminded of their Master's witness to Jesus. And the Old Testament too bears its witness that in His fellowship with sinners and in His sabbath ideals, He is revealing the will and mind of God. If the Pharisees had 'the word of God abiding in then,' (John 5, 38); if they had the antecedent witness of the Spirit, 'the love of God in themselves,' they could have recognized not only the preceding forms of witness but also the witness of the Spirit in the changed life and devoted loyalty of the sinners who responded to Christ's call. But in the absence of that preparatory witness of the Spirit, the result of this initial Galilean conflict is that they adjudge Him as in Jerusalem, (John 5, 18) a blasphemer and destroyer of the Sabbath; and conferred with the Herodians on the means of destroying Him.

Luke by reversing the order of Mk. 3, 7 to 12 and 3, 13 to 19, places the choice of the Twelve and the Sermon on the Mount immediately after the five conflicts; and most probably with the aim of showing that the Sermon was the direct issue of the conflicts. The First Evangelist, who first mentions the choice of the Twelve as preliminary to their instruction for the Mission in Chap. 10, reports the Sermon with extended reference to pharisaic opposition; although he has not yet brought them on the scene. In the Beatitudes the true members of the Kingdom and its real blessings are presented in almost direct contrast to the pharisaic assumptions repudiated in the first Marcan controversy section. The Sermon next meets the evident pharisaic charge that the religious teaching and practices in that Marcan section are a destruction of the Law and Prophets; and it proceeds to reveal the true righteousness of the divine kingdom in opposition to the righteousness of the scribes as seen in their interpretation of the Old Testament, and to the righteousness of the Pharisees as expressed in their prayer, fasting and almsgiving. Again as in the Marcan controversy and in the Johannine discourses, He bases His

standing of it by the disciples of John. A satisfactory historical explanation of this assumption and of all its presuppositions lies alone in the fact that these disciples of John or their associates, had once heard from the mouth of their teacher the metaphor, (J. 3, 29) in reference to Jesus and the community gathering itself around him: he that hath the bride is the bridegroom.

teaching on His personal authority as revealing absolutely with His 'I say unto you,' the Father's will in the Law and Prophets; and as professing that the final judgment will depend upon His decision.

2. The next controversy in the Marcan and Matthæan order is concerning the charge that Christ is in league with Beelzebul. It is reported in Mk. 3, 22 ff., Mtw. 12, 22 ff., and Luke 11, 14 ff. Mark thus places it directly after the five initial conflicts. Matthew too introduces it after the two sabbath conflicts, which are followed by Christ's withdrawal from controversy (12, 15); thereby fulfilling the ideal of the Old Testament Servant, (12, 19. cp. II Tim. 2, 24). But when His exorcisms have raised popular enthusiasm to a danger point, (12, 22 f.), controversy is again forced upon him by his enemies' attack on the validity of these miracles as witness to his claims. They are ascribed by the Pharisees to demonic influence. Luke, however, places this conflict in the latter part of His ministry as part of the controversy section, 11, 14 ff.

In favor of the chronological arrangement of the first two Evangelists is the fact that it would be the natural order of attack. It is indeed the actual order of these two controversies even in Luke. It would also naturally be made in the earlier period of the Galilean popular success and excitement, rather than in the final journeyings towards Jerusalem, as in Luke. Further, Synoptic criticism has enabled us to recognize that Luke's arrangement in 11, 14 ff., is clearly topical; as will appear from a brief summary concerning the Synoptic sources of the Beelzebul sections.[7]

All three Evangelists have here used Q: Mtw. using Mk. also, and incorporating in addition related Sayings; Luke too combining with Mk. his recension of Q, together with some material from his special source, L. This last source was according to B. Weiss, parallel to Q in Lk. 11, 37 ff., and was here used instead of Q. Following the main features of Weiss' reconstruction of this section,[8] Q included a series of controversial discourses, *Q. Syn. Ueb.*, p. 88, without definite chronological indication. Its topical order

[7] The detailed criticism of the passage and a discussion of recent representative critical views is given by Prof. B. S. Easton, in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1913, pp. 57 to 73: The Beelzebul Sections.

[8] The Greek text, pp. 34 to 47 of *Die Quellen der Synoptischen Ueberlieferung*, in T. and U. Bd. 32, 3. 1908, with discussion in *Die Quellen des Lukasevangeliums*, pp. 75 f.; 115 ff.; 289 f.

has been best reproduced by Luke: the Beelzebul section, the demand for a sign, which was followed in Q by the Woes on the scribes and Pharisees. Since Q in the common opinion contained no account of the Jerusalem ministry, this final denunciation is joined for topical reasons to the two conflicts just mentioned; and this order is retained in Lk. 11, 39, although Mk. and Mtw. rightly place the Woes at the conclusion of the ministry in Jerusalem; and Luke himself at the same point, (20, 45), repeats from Mk. his earlier verse, 11, 43. This absence of chronological interest in the Lucan section containing the three controversies, justifies us, therefore, in the absence of any opposing reason, in accepting Mk.'s assignment of the Beelzebul controversy to the middle period of the Galilean ministry. We may also accept the statement, (Mk. 3, 22), that the authors of this charge were scribes from Jerusalem; and also that they were Pharisees, (Mtw. 12, 24). Weiss on the contrary urges that Lk. 11, 14, refers the charge to the populace; and that Luke here represents Q's view.[9] Apart, however, from the consideration that a popular calumny might easily have been initiated by the religious leaders, the fact that Lk. 11, 37 ff., in which Pharisees are denounced by name and to their faces, is a section topically related in Lk. and Q to the two preceding conflicts, indicates that the same pharisaic opponents are assumed in the whole Q controversy.[10].

In the threefold account, Christ's reply appears to be the expression of profoundest amazement at the malignity of such a charge. The solemnity of His treatment of it is not surpassed in any other conflict in the Gospels; and is due not only to its dangerous effect in distorting the witness of His miracles into confutation of His claims, but also to its disclosure of the blindness of the hearts, minds and consciences of those who made it.[11] Beelzebul, to

[9] *Q. d. Lukasevangeliums*, pp. 103, 115 n.; *Q. Syn. Ueb.*, p. 80.

[10] Zahn, *Das Ev. d. Lukas*, p. 461, n. 41, notes that in Luke 11, 19, the expression 'your sons' used in designation of the adherents of the circle addressed, points primarily to a party and profession. It would thus refer as in Mtw. 12, 24, to the party of the Pharisees.

[11] Gould, *St. Mark*, p. 62: The charge "is not merely an attempt to explain these miracles, so as to do away with the effect of them, but a distinct charge on the strength of them. "It involved," p. 60, "a complete upsetting of all moral values, and a stupendous and well-nigh irrecoverable moral blindness in themselves."

whom they ascribed his power, is probably to be understood as meaning 'Lord of the Dwelling,' considered as the Jewish substitute for 'Lord of Heaven': the name of the god of the hated foreign religion, whom they regarded as a demon.[12] Yet none but 'the blind,' Christ's subsequent constant characterization of the Pharisees and their allies, could fail to see in His miracles of beneficence and of release from the power of evil, a self-evident contradiction to alliance with that evil. It was unthinkable that Satan would permit willingly such destruction of his power and kingdom. Even Jewish exorcists who unite with material means the invocation of demonic powers,[13] will themselves condemn the Pharisees for imputing such influence to Jesus, whose exorcisms by His own authoritative word, (Mtw. 8, 16) reveal that the spirit operating through Him is the Spirit of God. In the divine testimony to Him in these works, which is self-evident to all who are not morally blind, there is also a witness to His words announcing the coming of the Kingdom. These victories over the kingdom of evil testify that the Kingdom of God has come upon them in the person and work of One who approves Himself to be Satan's conqueror and the deliverer of all who are in bondage to Him. Thus the more definite pharisaic attack has led to a more definite assertion of His claims and of their support in the witness of His own life of redeeming spiritual power; in the witness of the Father in His revealing word and work; and in the witness of the personal experience of those who have entered into the blessings of the Kingdom He has brought. Passing from apologia to polemic, (Mtw. 12, 30 ff.), he warns them that their refusal to recognize this witness makes them the allies of the enemy He has conquered, and blasphemers of the Holy Spirit of

[12] This conclusion of several older scholars is supported by W. E. M. Aitken in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1912, pp. 34–54. Bertholet, *R. G. u. G.*, II, 1223, holds that while scrupulously pious Jews might hear in the word Beelzebul, 'the god of filth,' yet it designates in reality 'the Lord of the (heavenly) dwelling,' *i. e.*, the Sun God. If the reading Beelzebub is adopted, it too as being the name of the Philistine 'god of flies,' is probably the name of a Sun God. Cheyne in *Ency. Biblica* considers that to Jews in the New Testament age, the name meant 'Lord of the nether world.' Nestle in *D. C. G.* finds all the proposed derivations unsatisfactory. Other derivations are discussed in the above articles and in the commentaries.

[13] J. A. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts*, III, §§ 9–13, with full references to the relevant literature.

God revealing Himself in the life, words and works of the Son of Man. Their rejection of this witness of the Spirit in Jesus and their blasphemous accusation is due to the absence of God's spirit of purity and goodness in their own inner lives. It is the fruit of a root of corruption, the expression of an evil heart; the revelation of their hidden treasure of wickedness.

3. In Q, as may be seen in the sequence common to Mtw. 12 and Lk. 11, the Beelzebul strife was followed by the demand for a Sign. The significance of this conflict is affected by decisions concerning the debated questions of Synoptic criticism, exegesis and the eschatological element in the Gospels which converge in this section. The question of the order of this demand in the series of controversies is raised by the fact that in Mk. (8, 11) it is preceded by demand for obedience to the Oral Law, (7, 1). In Mtw. on the contrary the controversy concerning the sign, (12, 28), precedes the section on the Oral Law (15, 1); but the demand for a Sign appears again at 16, 1, as a doublet from Mk. 8, 11.[14] Lk. omits the portion of Mk. which contains these two sections; but presents the discourse concerning the Oral Law, (11, 37) as following the section on the Sign (11, 29). This too, as stated above, is the order of Q which reappears in Mtw.'s framework: in chapter 12, the demand for a sign; and in chapter 23, the pharisaic emphasis on the Oral Tradition. This would seem to be the logical and historical sequence of the two conflicts. The claims involved in Christ's repulse of the Beelzebul charge would lead more naturally to a challenge for an indubitable sign to accredit them, than to a demand for obedience to the tradition of the fathers.[15]

But while adopting this sequence of the two conflicts from Q instead of Mk., we may on the other hand conclude from internal indications in the Gospels that Mk.'s assignment of the demand for a Sign to the period after the Galilean ministry, (8, 11) is to be preferred to Mtw.'s earlier assignment of the discourse (12, 38) within the Galilean ministry and to Luke's report of it in the later Perean Ministry, (11, 29). These latter assignments obviously depend only on the topical arrangement of Q. In favor of the Marcan chronological setting of the section is the fact that Christ's

[14] J. C. Hawkins, *Horæ Synopticæ*, pp. 78. 71.

[15] The Marcan sequence of the two controversies will be considered further on p. 46 f.

reference to the people as a wicked and adulterous generation which has rejected the preaching of one greater than Jonah and the wisdom of one greater than Solomon, presupposes a stage of ministry not amid the popular enthusiasm indicated in the context of Mtw. 12, cp. vs. 23, but after the Gospel had already been rejected, as at the close of the Galilean period. Such a rejection is definitely stated in the Fourth Gospel, (Jn. 6, 66) to have taken place after the feeding of the 5,000; and it would be the natural occasion for Christ's withdrawal from Galilee stated in Mk. 7, 24, and the parallel Mtw. 15, 21.

This reference to Jn. 6 recalls that in the Fourth Gospel the Galilean ministry itself closes in connection with a popular demand for a sign like the manna from Heaven. This demand, however, although related to the demand for a Sign in the Synoptics is not a variant of it. The two reports differ as to the scene, the specific demands, the replies to them and the results. In John the demand is made in the Synagogue; in Lk., (11, 29), when crowds were gathering. In the Synagogue it is as yet, for manna to be brought down by Him from heaven; while later, as will appear, it is specifically for a sign in the heaven itself. There is no refusal of the manna sign, but an assurance that it has already been given in Himself, the true Bread from Heaven; while to the other demand there is only the warning that no sign shall be given but the sign of Jonah. In Capernaum the discourse on the sign of Himself the Bread of Life, includes the offer of resurrection and eternal life; in contrast to the denunciation of those who ask for the other sign, as a wicked and adulterous generation which will be condemned in the judgment. In John His refusal of an additional sign causes their rejection of Him; in the Synoptics their rejection of Him causes His refusal of any sign to them. But while the demands in John and Mark are not variant reports of the same incident, the similarity of their general subject points to a close relationship; and this is probably stated correctly in B. Weiss' view that the challenge in Mark is the outgrowth of the request in John.[16] According to his construction of the situation, in Mk. (8, 11 ff.), the Pharisees renew the earlier demand of the populace, (Jn. 6, 30 ff.), as a subtle temptation: they would recognize Him, if He will grant a legitimating sign from heaven,

[16] B. Weiss, *Life of Christ*, III, p. 10 f.

which they know He has already refused to give; and the anticipated renewed refusal will fatally discredit Him with the crowds again gathering around Him. Mark reports Christ's profound emotion; His groaning in His spirit at the subtle leaven of their hypocrisy; His refusal of their challenge; and His retirement from them. Q reports His discourse to the surrounding crowds, who shared in the desire for a sign, (Mtw. 12, 38; Lk. 11, 29).

But of more importance than these debated critical questions of the sequence, chronology and relations of these sections in the Synoptics and John, is the determination of the specific character of the sign demanded in the Synoptics. Evidently it is not a demand for a more striking miracle of the ordinary class. For although Christ asserts in reply to it that no sign will be given, (Lk. 11, 29), He proceeds in the following chapters to perform the usual miracles, which indeed are not called signs in the Synoptics. All the available data indicate that this new demand for a sign of a special character would come from a special class with distinct messianic expectations: the pharisaic apocalyptists and their sympathizers. The differing attitudes to Christ's miracles, (cp. Jn. 7, 31), and this demand for a specific sign would thus be related to the distinct types of contemporary messianic expectations. Volz [17] distinguishes two current conceptions of the manifestation of the Messiah. In the popular view, He was to manifest Himself by miracles. Volz finds this view expressed in the Synoptics, in Josephus' account, (p. 191), of Theudas, of the Egyptian under Felix and of the sorcerer under Festus, who promised to work miracles and who probably wished to be viewed as Messiah; and also in the reference to the doctrine of the rabbis, (Justin, *Trypho*, 110) that Messiah would be recognized when 'He shall become manifest and glorious.' In contrast, however, to this popular view, the Messiah in Jewish Apocalyptic is to reveal Himself as such by the manner of his coming: He comes from heaven in the clouds; or from the sun; or as the rising of a star; or as a lightning flash; or out of the sea.[18]

[17] P. Volz, *Jüdische Eschatologie von Daniel bis Akiba*, p. 220.

[18] Volz refers to Danl. 7, 13; 4 Ezra 12, 3; Orac. Syb. 3, 652; Tests. Juda 24, Levi 18; Apoc. Baruch 53. So B. Weiss (*Life of Christ*, III, p. 11): to command the sun to stand still or to cease shining; or to cause some token to be seen in the sky. Gould (*St. Mark*, p. 144): the kind of signs we find in the eschato-

From a special group of Pharisees holding such a view, we conceive the demand, (Mk. 8, 11), to have come.[19] The sign they had in mind was some distinct phenomenon in the sky as a prelude to the messianic age. Such a demand would evidently have been first occasioned by some indication or act or implied claim on Jesus' part that He was the Christ. Whatever impression His earlier preaching of the Kingdom or His references to Himself as the Son of Man may have made upon them, He could not possibly be the Messiah of their apocalyptic expectations. Even among the enthusiastic multitudes in the Galilean ministry, His usual miracles had led only to the belief that He was a prophet, (Mk. 8, 28; cp. Jno. 9, 17; Mtw. 21, 11). But in the Fourth Gospel the miracle of feeding the five thousand at length definitely raises the question whether He be not the prophet that should come into the world, (Volz, p. 190). He then refuses to be the Messianic King, of the popular expectation. Yet the next day when He claims their faith in Himself as sent from God, (Jno. 6, 29), He is confronted with a special form of messianism: that the Messiah would be a prophet like unto Moses, (Volz, p. 191), and is challenged to perform miracles similar to those of the Mosaic Age. In response to this demand for an authenticating sign of Messiahship of this Moses-type, He does not deny that He makes any such claim, but asserts that it is already given in Himself as the true bread from heaven. Such a claim, especially in combination with mysterious references to Himself as the Son of Man coming down from heaven and ascending thither, gives the natural occasion for Pharisaic apocalyptists and their adherents to make their challenge recorded in Mark immediately after His account of the feeding of the four thousand, of a sign from heaven.

logical discourses, ch. 13, this being what they were led to expect in connection with the Messianic period; a voice from heaven or anything coming from above. Plummer (*St. Luke*, p. 307): a voice from heaven, a pillar of fire; after Neander, (*Life of Christ*, § 92), a visible, celestial phenomenon unequivocally authenticating Him as a messenger of God.

[19] Lagrange, *Le Messianisme chez les Juifs*, p. 133, holds that while the majority of apocalyptists belonged to the Pharisees, yet they did not present themselves in that character and had not the authority which knowledge of the Law conferred upon the Scribes. Cp. Box, *Ezra Apocalypse*, p. 284.

In the Mtw. parallel, (16, 1 ff.) the character of the sign demanded is interpreted by the early gloss in vs. 2 b and 3, in which the ironical contrast expresses Christ's rebuke of their assumption that discernment of the phenomena of the skies can lead to discernment of the 'signs of the times': *σημεῖα τῶν καιρῶν*. Hort, (*N. T.* Appdx., p. 13) has stated the results of the text-criticism of the passage: the words are 'no part of the text of Mtw. They can hardly have been an altered repetition of Lk. 12, 54 f.; but were apparently derived from an extraneous source, written or oral, and inserted in the Western text at a very early time.' Zahn, *Mts. Ev.*, p. 528, suggests that this source may possibly have been in Papias' report of the sayings of Christ's disciples; and considers the gloss to be in itself both pertinent and credible and not inappropriately inserted in this context.

In Lk. 17, 20 f., however, the allusion to a pharisaic expectation of an apocalyptic sign of the coming of the messianic kingdom, is more definite. Christ denies that it comes with 'observation,' so that the observers can point it out: lo, here! or there. On the contrary the Kingdom comes or is present not as a result of watching for a sign from heaven: whether *ἐντὸς ὑμῶν ἐστιν* be viewed as meaning 'is' or 'shall be' among or within you. That *παρατήρησις* is here used of observation of the skies, is supported by the citations in all the Greek Lexicons of passages where it and its cognates are used of auguries from the phenomena of the skies and of astronomical and astrological observations. It is even possible at least that there may be an allusion to contemporary apocalyptic expectation of such a sign from the skies in Christ's second temptation: to cast Himself down from the height of the pinnacle of the temple with the accompaniment and support of angels, is there demanded as proof of His divine Sonship. Streeter, (*Foundations*, p. 101) has suggested that the significance of this temptation is: "If the Kingdom is not to be established by the sword, it can only be by an act of God such as the apocalyptists picture." McNeile on the contrary, (*Mtw.*, p. 40) regards the suggestion of Streeter to be 'far-fetched.' But if Christ had thus at the outset of His ministry faced this messianic expectation of the apocalyptists and their sympathizers, He did not merely refuse to accede to it whenever it was pressed upon Him; but as in the

case of other messianic conceptions, He transformed it.[20] It was based on the conviction that Messiah would come from the transcendental sphere, (Volz, p. 210 f.); and after His refusals to realize the current expectation as to the method of His manifestation from that sphere, and after His gradual disclosures of His own method, He used this conception and its symbolism as He had transformed it, to express in His eschatological teachings the final revelation of Himself as glorified Son of Man. The discourse on the Last Things, at the close of His ministry, (Mk. 13 and plls.), is in response to the inquiry of the four Apostles closest to him: 'when shall this be and what the sign of thy Parousia and of the end of the world?', (Mtw. 24, 3). His direct answer to them, (vs. 30), is that after the powers of heaven are shaken, shall be seen the sign of the Son of Man in heaven; [21] and as on the day of Cæsarea, (Mk. 8, 38 f.), which in Mark follows closely on the demand for a sign, this sign of Mtw. 24, 30, is his coming with power and glory for the gathering of his elect and for Messianic Judgment.

Our Lord's refusal to meet the Pharisaic challenge for a sign from heaven, is at this point based on their rejection of all the previous witness of His life and ministry. That witness had met with no response of faith. Their demand was in reality for a credential which would, as in the second temptation, relieve them of the exercise of the personal devotion of mind, heart, will and conscience that is involved in every act of faith. No sign can be given to such a generation but the sign of Jonah.

The earliest comment on this statement, outside of the Gospels,

[20] Cp. Streeter, *op. cit.*, (p. 101): "His independent interpretation of the Old Testament and His trenchant criticism of the traditions of the scribes, forbid to Him a slavish literalism in the acceptance of contemporary apocalyptic symbolism."

[21] McNeile, (*Mtw.* p. 352), in a brief summary of interpretations, thinks this sign is possibly the 'great glory' of vs. 30; or less probably it may be the sign *consisting* of the Son of Man. B. Weiss and Wellhausen maintain this latter view; and W. C. Allen regards it as the more probable. Zahn, however, regards the sign as a phenomenon in the heavens distinct from, yet contemporaneous with the Son of Man's appearance. For the patristic view that the sign is the Cross, cp. Bousset, *Apoc.* 220 f., and *Antichrist Legend*, pp. 232–236.

is that of Justin Martyr in his dialogue with Trypho, c. 107: "Since he spoke this obscurely, it was to be understood by the audience that after His crucifixion He should rise again on the third day." But it has not been so understood since Paulus' time, (1801), by a great number of critics and exegetes who understand the sign of Jonah to be his preaching. This interpretation is based first on the critical decision that Mtw. 12, 40, which states that like Jonah, Christ will be in the heart of the earth three days and three nights, was not in his source Q; or with Loisy, (1.997 f.), was interpolated in his recension of Q; in either case is not a report of the words of Christ. Further it is claimed that though it is the Evangelist's explanation, it is nevertheless a mistaken interpretation of our Lord's meaning.

With the critical decision numbers of conservative critics are disposed to agree, in view of the absence of the verse in the Lukan parallel. Among these are Salmon, (*Human Element in the Gospels*, p. 217; cp., however, p. 218), Zahn, McNeile and Allen who marks it as an editorial passage, though with a question mark. B. Weiss omits it in his printed reconstruction of Q, (p. 37); yet in a note remarks that the inappropriate reference to 'three days and three nights' might be in favor of the view that vs. 40 stood in Q. It seems, however, more probable to suppose that the verse was added to Q by the Evangelist, by direct quotation from Jonah, as illustrating our Lord's meaning.

The remaining question, whether he was justified in his interpretation of the enigmatic saying of vs. 39, has to be determined by the exegesis of the Lukan parallel, (11, 30): as Jonah was a sign to the Ninevites, so shall the Son of Man be to this generation. Is the basis of this comparison the preaching of Jonah and Jesus; or the persons of the two preachers? Wellhausen, (*Ev. Matth.*, p. 64), while stating that Lk. 11, 30, viewed as a contrast between the two instances of preaching would make an appropriate transition from Mtw. 12, 39 to 12, 41, cannot, however, comprehend how such an antithesis can be spoken of as a sign. And inasmuch as Luke does not next speak of the men of Nineveh but of the Queen of the South, who had no connection with Jonah, he decides, as B. Weiss also, (*Quellen d. Luk*, p. 75 and McNeile), that both in Mtw. and Lk. these two references to Jonah's preaching and Solomon's wisdom had originally nothing to do with the

sign of Jonah; in which case Mtw. 12, 40, deserves preference over Lk. 11, 30.

Others, as B. Weiss and Zahn, have emphasized that in Lk. 11, 30, we have not a contrast and antithesis but an analogy and similarity which cannot be based on the respective preachings. For this in the one case is addressed to heathen with success; and in the other case to Jews with its rejection. Such a contrast could be made better with many other Old Testament prophets than with Jonah. Moreover in Lk. 11, 30, there is neither comparison nor contrast between Jonah's preaching in the past and Christ's preaching in the present; but a reference to the sign of Jonah in the past and the sign of the Son of Man in the future. Neither was Jonah's preaching a sign of anything to Nineveh, nor definitely could His preaching be in any way related to a sign of messiahship: for which object the sign of Jonah is introduced by Christ. The succeeding reference to the preaching at Nineveh is not, as Wellhausen and B. Weiss have recognized, related to the saying concerning the sign of Jonah, but is a distinct reference to Christ's declaration concerning the Jews as a wicked and adulterous generation.

Rejecting therefore with the recent commentators, Allen, McNeile, B. Weiss, Wellhausen and Zahn, the view that Lk. 11, 30, refers to the preaching of Jonah, we find the basis of the comparison of the sign in the persons and history of the prophet and Christ; and that the First Evangelist's later gloss rightly interprets Christ's enigmatic utterance as referring to the story of the prophet's deliverance from death, preparatory to a ministry in a restored life.[22] The only sign that will be given to the Jewish nation rejecting the sign of Christ's own life among them, will be not a sign from heaven above, according to the apocalyptists' demand, but from below: the sign of His resurrection from death, crowning all the other witness already given to them. The fact of their demand for a sign is itself evidence that they had already

[22] McNeile (*Mtw.*, p. 181) agrees that in Mtw. we have a gloss interpreting the sign of Jonah as referring to the resurrection. But he holds that in the Lukan parallel the reference is neither to preaching nor resurrection, but to Christ's second advent. To express this idea he is compelled to paraphrase thus: "The Son of Man will come, as it were from a foreign land, with a message of doom to this generation as Jonah to the Ninevites."

rejected the signs of His earthly appearance and ministry. "His life was full of signs; nay it was a sign; He Himself was the sign. Jesus refuses especially to give a sign to that generation. It was an age full of signs; it was the period of the Incarnation; and yet its leaders went about asking for signs, and refused to believe the self-witness of the Son of God" (Gould, *Mark*, p. 145). Hence His groaning in spirit (Mk. 8, 12); His warning that their rejection of Him revealed them to be less spiritually receptive than the men of Nineveh and the Queen of the South; that their failure to advance from their initial interest in the preaching of the Baptist and of Jesus, has now led to a worse spiritual state, (Mtw. 12, 41–45); and that this failure and their rejection of Him and His testimony, (Lk. 11, 33–36), is due to their spiritual blindness, filling them with darkness.

4. Luke's succeeding section, (11, 37 ff.) represents as the next stage of opposition, their attack upon him for disregard of the Oral Law, and his open denunciation of them. The discourse which Luke introduces at this point, (vs. 39 ff.),from the section of Q that followed the preceding controversy, is rightly placed by Mtw. in chapter 23, and is referred to in Mk. 12, likewise at the close of the ministry. But the introductory incident, (vs. 37 f.), is without doubt properly placed sometime after the close of the ministry in Galilee. We have in Mk. 7, 1 ff. an unusually detailed and vivid report of our Lord's open breach with the Pharisees on this issue. Mark indeed places this conflict before the demand for a sign; and as Keim states it is not possible to decide with certainty as to the order of the two demands. He adopts the order we are here following. While the Pharisaic criticism could no doubt have been made earlier during the Galilean ministry, yet both the denunciation of them and its tone point to a later period and to a definitive breach. It has also been noted, *e. g.*, by Allen, (*S. Mark*, p. 19), that Mark introduces it with no indication of time or place; and his interest may be here primarily in the subject rather than in its position in the historical progress of the ministry. It would seem to be the logical stage of direct attack after the earlier complaints in the five Markan conflicts, the disparagements of his exorcisms and the challenge for a sign from heaven.

The concrete charge, (Mk. 7, 5), of disloyalty to the tradition

of the Elders, because of His neglect of the oral law of cleansing before food, is met by the equally concrete charge of Pharisaic disloyalty to the Word of God, betrayed by their scribal decision concerning Korban: such a dedication of gifts as prevents obedience of the Old Testament commandment. Against this accusation of His transgression of a merely human rule, He hurls back the charge of their annulment of divine law, in the interest of their law of oral tradition. Hypocrites are they; fulfilling Isaiah's description of hypocrisy and dishonoring God by pretext of a piety stricter than the Old Testament standard. As the issue had been raised on cleansing before meals to avoid ceremonial defilement, He announces to the people in His parable, (Mk. 7, 14 f.), which He interprets to the Twelve, (vs. 17 f.,) that the inner fount of purity of heart is the ideal aimed at in the Old Testament law concerning defilement: thereby as Mk. comments, (vs. 19), "cleansing all food."

This in Keim's words,[23] " was a worthy conclusion of this conflict: opposed to ordinance, the Law; to cleansings, the heart; to ceremony, moral character and the love of man. Every path must lead him to the same goal. Out of the ridiculous washing of hands to the glory of God, must develop the noble warm care for humanity, in the personality of one's self and others: a transformed religion."

Before considering His final denunciation of the Pharisees at the close of His ministry, we may turn to the intervening conflicts as reported in the Fourth Gospel. After the Galilean conflicts and after the annunciation of the passion and resurrection, we have in John, chapters 7 to 12, a record of controversies in Jerusalem at the feasts of Tabernacles and Dedication and near the final Passover. The reported references to division among the people, (7, 12.40; 8, 22; 10, 19; 12, 41), and even among the ruling class, (7, 50; 9, 16; 11, 45), reveal the result of the earlier and of the renewed conflicts. While some consider Him 'a good man,' or 'a prophet,' and are even debating whether He is not the Christ, others reflect the now settled attitude of the Pharisaic leaders after their Galilean attacks and Christ's open denunciation of them. There are, however, no essentially new lines of apologia

[23] *Ges. Jesu von Nazara*, II, p. 355.

or polemic. The Pharisees do not initiate controversy with Him. Their oppositions are rather of the nature of counter-attacks and retorts against the open polemic which Christ began in Galilee and now develops in the Capital; and at the same time they are repudiations of His renewed and absolute claims of union with God, of mission from God and of the divine witness in His life and lifework.

Thus, in the six chapters covering the closing months of the ministry are found reiterated assertions of the witness of Christ Himself: [24] that He has come down from above, (8, 23); from God, (8, 42); with whom He is one, (10, 30); by whom He was consecrated for His mission, (10, 36); who speaks and works through Him, (8, 28); that He is the sinless Son, (8, 46); that He returns to God, and if any will keep His word, (8, 51) and will hear His voice as the Good Shepherd, (10, 27), He gives them eternal life. To meet these declarations the Jewish leaders oppose to the witness of His life, their denunciations of Him as a Samaritan, as possessed by a demon, insane; and possibly as born in fornication, (8, 41), a sinner and Sabbath breaker. In rejection of His claim to have the Father's witness in His words and teachings, they assert that His utterances blaspheme God and deceive the people. His miraculous works are not denied, (10, 32 f.); neither the earlier works nor the two recorded in John in this period: the restoration of the blind man at the Dedication and the raising of Lazarus. But they are blind to the witness of these works, (9, 39 f.), as forming with His words the revelation of the Father, (10, 37 f.). Both in John 7, 27, and in the Synoptics, (Mk. 6, 3), the effective countervailing argument against any witness he offers, is probably taken from a current apocalyptic theory of the concealment of the Messiah prior to His sudden revelation in a sign from heaven, (Volz, pp. 219–221). The possibility that He might be the Christ, (7, 26), is nullified by the consideration that "we know this man whence he is; (cp. 6, 42 and Mk. 6, 3); when Christ comes, no man knows whence He is." Justin Martyr, (Dial. c. Trypho, c. 110), is probably reporting the same objection, and in its complete form: the Jewish teachers assert that Christ has not yet come; 'or if they say that he has come, they assert that it is not

[24] For the correspondence of these assertions with Synoptic statements see Wendt, *Das Joh. evangelium*, pp. 178–184.

known who he is; but when he shall become manifest and glorious, then it shall be known who he is.'

As in the Synoptics Christ's conciliatory method with opponents charges at length into open polemic, so in this later period in the Fourth Gospel the Jewish rulers are attacked as being themselves breakers of the Law of Moses, (7, 19); and as manifesting in their lives that they were not, as they boasted themselves to be, Abraham's seed, but children of the Devil, (8, 31–59). In the Synoptics He had repelled the Pharisaic charge of His alliance with the prince of demons, with the warning of blasphemy against the Holy Ghost and of the guilt of an eternal sin, (Mk. 3, 28 ff.). But in the closing conflict at Tabernacles He denounces them not merely as the allies but as the offspring of Satan: they are of their father the devil; slaves of sin, accomplishing the lusts and works of their father, a murderer from the beginning and a liar; as his offspring they now seek to kill Jesus, (8, 37, 40), and are liars rejecting the truth and words of God in the Son, (8, 55). In direct contrast to theirs, is His own divine Sonship: He had a timeless existence before Abraham's birth and came forth from the Father, (8, 58.42); His mission is to bring freedom from sin's slavery through revelation of the truth; and the keeping of His word, the truth He has heard from God, will deliver from death, (8, 31.51).

After this definite break with the rulers in Jerusalem at Tabernacles, we have finally in chapters 9 to 12, as in the Synoptics, the references to His death and to His glorification in His resurrection. Advancing from the earlier enigmatic allusions to His death and departure to the Father, (7, 33; 8, 21.28), He declares Himself publicly at Dedication as the Good Shepherd giving His life for the sheep, yet taking it again that He may be the Good Shepherd of the other sheep as well as of those of the Jewish fold; and closes His ministry with the utterance: I, if I be lifted up will draw all men unto Me.

In the Synoptics this controversy with the Pharisees is summed up in its essential features and issues in Christ's final denunciation of them at the conclusion of his public ministry. Mark, (12, 38), has compressed the Q discourse in his report of the exposure of their characteristic ostentation, greed and pretentious piety, which will bring them the greater condemnation. Luke, (20, 45), repeats this, although he has already used a part of it, (11, 43), in

his controversy section, 11, 37–52. As stated earlier, this section and Mtw. 23 point to a controversy discourse in Q formed on the plan of seven woes: three on the scribes and four on the Pharisees.[25] These woes turn against His opponents, as in Mk. 7, 1 ff., the charges and attacks they had made against himself: Their own failure to obey truly and fully the Law of Moses, in spite of their unspiritual casuistry and petty tithings; their burdening of weary and heavy laden souls with the minutiæ of oral traditions concerning fastings, defilements and washings; their ostentations and self-seeking practice of piety in absolute contrast to Himself, meek and lowly in heart. Their charge that He is a deceiver of the people is repelled with the counter-blow that it is they who are blind guides, shutting up the Kingdom from those who would enter, and making their proselytes twofold more the children of hell than themselves. Taunts of disregard of ritual purity and of fellowship with publicans and sinners, are flung back with the exposure of their boasted ceremonial purity as but a mask for their inner spirit of extortion, wickedness and of such foulness as is hidden within the marble tombs. And they who saw in His life, words and mighty works of mercy, the influence of the prince of the devils, are at length denounced as being themselves controlled by the serpent spirit of persecuting hate and murder, for which there is threatening them the judgment of hell.

The abiding allegiance of the Apostles in spite of these attacks by the honored leaders of the religious life and thought of the nation, testifies to the firmness of the faith founded on personal fellowship with Him. Their allegiance points also to the development of their faith as the result of these controversies.

Besides receiving in them the increasingly definite self-revelations of his Sonship, they have also absorbed and adopted His teachings concerning the Old Testament ideals of righteousness; and of the heavenly Father's grace and pardoning love, which will free them from the scheme of salvation by the method of legalistic obedience, and from the observance of the human law of the oral tradition.

In Jesus' piety and sinless purity they found that the Pharisaic ideal of an external and ceremonial purity had been surpassed and

[25] Weiss, *Quellen d. Syn. Ueberlieferung*, p. 128 ff.; *Quellen d. Lukasevangeliums*, p. 262 ff.

done away. Rejecting utterly the Pharisaic charge of their Master's alliance with Beelzebul, they realized with absolute definiteness that it was indeed the Spirit of God which spoke and wrought through Him; and in their fellowship with Him and devotion to Him, they found rest unto their souls.

The Pharisaic and popular demand for a sign from heaven in accordance with current apocalyptic expectations, had for them been already largely met by his instruction of them concerning the mystery of the Kingdom of God. In the parable discourses summed up in Mtw. 13, they had learned that the Kingdom would not be introduced by the messianic judgment, but by a preparatory stage of merciful preparation for that judgment and this introduction would not be by means of a catastrophic irruption of divine power, but by a gradual and extending reception of the implanted word and revelation of God in the redeeming life of the Son of Man. Evil will be rooted out only at the final judgment. Admission to the Kingdom, instead of being a prescriptive right, demands absolute personal self-sacrifice. The ideals and spiritual activities of the new life within the Kingdom are further portrayed in the parables reported by Luke from his special source in the section 9, 51–18, 14.

But the final stage of developing their faith in Him begins at Cæsarea Philippi: faith in Him as a suffering Christ, and as a Christ reigning over His Kingdom invisibly in a resurrection life. It was the task to which He seems to have devoted the chief effort of His remaining earthly ministry in the period extending from the Transfiguration to his last discourses with his Apostles on the night in which He was betrayed. For this consummating self-revelation no preparation was available in their understanding of the Old Testament as referring to the coming of a glorious Messiah. Nor could they fit it into their conceptions of the Gospel of the Kingdom, nor into their constant experience hitherto of the divine support of their sinless Master mighty in word and deed. He therefore prepares them for it by summoning them to a definite profession of their faith in Him, which was already manifest in their coming to Him as followers and in their continued allegiance to Him in spite of the non-fulfillment of the Baptist's prediction of His initial judgment; in spite of His repudiation of the current ruling Pharisaic religious ideals and practices; in spite of both official and

general popular rejection of Him as the promised Christ; and above all in spite of his transformation of their conceptions of the messianic Kingdom. To them He is still the Christ of God. This direct certainty of faith in Him, He in turn assures them, is their response of faith to the divine revelation in Himself. And He next proceeds to give to their spokesman, Peter professing the faith that Jesus is the Christ, the promise of the complete fulfillment of their messianic hope through the building up of His Church, in which they shall be His empowered representatives; and which, in the later New Testament interpretation, (cp., *e. g.*, I Cor. 15, 24; Ephes. 5, 26 f., 4, 5) shall at length issue into the Kingdom of glory.[26] To those however without their faith in Him in response to the divine witness and with acceptance of His messianic teaching, His Messiahship must still remain a secret, (Mk. 8, 30). Public avowal of it could only be understood in the terms of popular messianism.

But it is on the basis of his Apostles' faith in Him as the Christ and of their hope of the messianic kingdom He had preached to them, that He now announces openly to them His death and resurrection. Peter's rebuke and protest discloses that the earlier veiled allusions to this had been but enigmas only understood after His resurrection, (Cp. John 2, 18).[27] From the Day at Cæsarea onward He was therefore engaged in preparing them directly for His approaching passion. In the Synoptics its announcement is immediately followed by an instruction of them and other disciples in the truth that self-sacrifice is the law of the highest life; and it is therefore the supreme element both in His revelation of the Father's will and in His perfect obedience as the Son of Man. In the Transfiguration, which is in closest relation with the revelations of the Day at Cæsarea, three of the Apostles have a vision of Jesus in His approaching glorified humanity; hear the Old Testament representatives themselves speak of the exodus He was to fulfill at Jerusalem; and hear the divine voice attesting the Sonship of Him who thus dies and is thus glorified.

The command of silence concerning this Transfiguration reve-

[26] Cp. A. Robertson, *Regnum Dei*, p. 49 ff.

[27] A. T. Robertson, *Dict. of Christ and Gospels.* Announcements of Death, , p. 7 of § 1. Schwartzkopf, *Prophecies of Jesus Christ relating to His death,* tc., p. 28 ff.

lation of His passion and exaltation, until after His resurrection, is accompanied by the fact that even in this stage of ministry to the Twelve, He does not appear to have presented to them in detail the necessity of His death from the prediction of the Suffering Servant in Isaiah, or of the Psalms. Yet His references to His approaching passion are expressed in Old Testament terms. We have at most three Old Testament passages concerning the suffering Messiah referred to by Christ; and these at the very close of His ministry to the Apostles. Immediately preceding the week of the passion, He speaks of giving His life a ransom 'for many,' (Mk. 10, 45). In this use of 'many' instead of 'all' as in I Tim. 2, 6, and Hebrews 2, 9, a reference to Isaiah 53, 10–12, "bare the sin of many" is not merely 'just possible,' (McNeile on Mtw. 20, 28), but with Schwartzkopf (1. c., p. 37) is 'undoubtedly' made. Edghill too, (*Evidential Value of Prophecy*, pp. 440–442), argues in favor of this view. He also recognizes a reference to the same passage in the words at the Last Supper in Mtw. 26, 28: This is my blood of the covenant which is shed for many for the remission of sins.[28] Again, even in this last hour, it is uttered with no direct quotation or comment, and is received with no question for explanation.

As they start out for Gethsemane, (Mk. 14, 27), the direct quotation of Zechariah 'I will smite the shepherd and the sheep shall be scattered abroad,' is given primarily as a warning of their imminent abandonment of Him, because they still have no conception that Messiah must suffer according to the Scriptures. Luke adds, (22, 37), Christ's direct statement that in Him must be fulfilled the Old Testament passage concerning the Suffering Servant: and He was numbered with transgressors. But their utter lack of understanding Him is shown both in their answer: here are two swords, and in our Lord's reply of mingled resignation and saddest irony: it is enough.

These data of the Gospels favor the idea that while Christ was devoting the closing months of His ministry to the preparation of His Apostles for His death and its messianic significance; and while in Luke 18, 31 ff., He assured them in general that it was the fulfil-

[28] Zahn on Mt. 20, 28 and 26, 28 makes no reference to the Isaiah passage but gives an exegesis of 20, 28 which would make the statements in Isaiah applicable to those in the Gospels. He finds, (*Evg. d. Lukas*, p. 585), the only reference to Isaiah, 53 in Lk. 22, 37.

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ment of all that is written in the prophets, there was until His entrance upon His passion, no specific quotation or exposition of the Old Testament statements related to it. While impressing upon them the divine necessity of His death, "His instruction certainly did not aim at being exhaustive or even systematic; but consisted rather of concise but expressive hints frequently repeated," (Schwartzkopf, p. 37). The Evangelists distinctly report, (Mk. 9, 32; Lk. 9, 45; 18, 31) the Apostles' lack of understanding and their fear to question Him upon the subject. Not indeed until the incomprehensible mystery of His death was dissolved in the light of His resurrection life, could they recognize that the divine necessity of His death was already declared in their Scriptures. The first ministry of the risen Lord to the two disciples en route to Emmaus on the day of the resurrection is to show them from the Old Testament Writings that the Messiah must suffer and enter into His glory. Their hearts were burning within them as they listened to His detailed expositions; yet it was only when they had recognized Him as risen that they recognized the Old Testament teaching in reference to His death. It was likewise only after His appearance as risen Lord to the Eleven and those with them, that He was able to open their minds to understand the Scriptures concerning the suffering and rising Christ. "These are the words," (Lk. 24, 44a), do not mean a repetition of the earlier general annunciation of the passion and resurrection in 44b; but they sum up the detailed exposition, (cp. 45), now first given to the Apostles, but not recorded by the Evangelist who also omits the record of the exposition in vs. 27.

Yet whatever had been their amazement and difficulties upon hearing predictions of His suffering and death, their faith in Him as the Christ continued stedfast to the last hour of His ministry among them. It was fortified in His successful closing conflicts with the Jerusalem rulers, in which He asserted Himself to be the Son and Heir sent by the Father whose mind He discloses in the utterance: It may be they will reverence my Son. In spite of His renewed declarations of His rejection and death, the Synoptics record as their last words to Him their willingness to go with Him to prison or death, (Mk. 14, 31). In John, upon His concluding self-revelation, (16, 29): "I came forth from the Father and am come into the world; again I leave the world and go to the Father" they

make their final confession of faith: "By this we believe that Thou camest forth from God."

The immediate collapse of this faith upon His crucifixion shows that without their realization of the religious significance and divine necessity of His death for the establishment of the kingdom of redemption, His death was able to shake the foundations upon which rested their faith in Him as the Christ. The taunts of His enemies were mockeries of the very forms of witness which had won them to belief. The witness of His life was contradicted by His execution with criminals as a malefactor. The witness of the Father was triumphantly challenged by the demand: Let God deliver Him now, if He desireth him; for He said I am the Son of God. The witness of His words is confuted by His death for blasphemy against God and for deception of the people. The witness of His miracles is mocked by His failure to save Himself: let the Christ now come down from the Cross, that we may see and believe. However the Apostles might reject these alleged consequences of his crucifixion, Pilate's superscription was the death knell of their hope and faith that it was He who should redeem Israel by establishing the Kingdom of God.

That faith could only be restored by His return to them in His resurrection life. His resurrection reaffirms, establishes and crowns all other forms of witness. It effects the Bebaiosis, the direct certainty of their completed faith in Him. They believe in Him as raised by the glory of the Father, according to the Scriptures; and as He showed Himself in His risen life of word and deed as glorified Son, Lord and Christ. Their own personal experience of union with Him and of the redemptive power of His resurrection, is witnessed to them in the gift of His Spirit. They had been won to this faith by Christ as their Paraclete, in personal presence and ministry with them. Now they receive another Paraclete and presence: the indwelling Spirit of Christ, in whose power they are commissioned to bring messianic salvation to the world through the faith which they themselves had attained by the personal ministry of their Lord.

CHAPTER IV

THE APOSTOLIC APOLOGIA OF WITNESS AND THE CALL TO FAITH IN THE GOSPEL OF SALVATION

THE Gospel which the Apostles at once preached in Jerusalem was the Gospel which their earthly and heavenly Lord had preached. In the New Testament the phrase 'the gospel of Christ' is not the Gospel concerning Christ, but the Gospel Christ preached. It has been shown by Zahn in his extended discussion of the phrase and its equivalents, that the Gospel of Christ in the mouth of His Apostles is not essentially different from what it was in the mouth of the great Apostle of our profession. The 'preaching of Jesus' to which Paul refers at the close of Romans is the original form of the Gospel, which when preached by the Apostles after His departure does not cease to be the Gospel of Christ.' *Introd.*, § 48 n. 2, II, 377. This essential identity of Apostolic preaching and Christ's Gospel is asserted by Peter when describing His message to Cornelius to be the Word which God sent, preaching good tidings of peace by Jesus Christ. Even more definitely in I John 1, 3.5, the Gospel is the message ἀγγελία, the Apostles heard from Christ, which they declare, ἀναγγέλλειν, and report, ἀπαγγέλλειν. The same claim is made in Hbws. 2, 5: the New Testament salvation was spoken first through the Lord, and later was confirmed to Christians by those who heard him. As then the Apostles preached the same Gospel as their Lord, and sought to win their hearers to their own faith in Him, we could not conceive of any other method for the genesis of this faith than the method by which they themselves had become believers.

A comparative study of the references to the original propagation of the Gospel points to a common type of oral Gospel preaching, which was enlarged in content and detail in the primitive instruction preparatory to baptism. One portion of this related to 'the things concerning Jesus.' In the teaching and prophetic exhortation in the Church worship, provision was made

to 'stir up the minds of believers by putting them in remembrance' of these things, though they know them and are established in the truth which is present with them,' II Pet. 1, 12. To 'remember the words of the Lord Jesus' is the primitive phrase for reference to the repetition, exposition and application in the Church services of the Gospel of the words and deeds of Christ.

1. THE APOLOGIA AND CALL OF THE GOSPEL TO THE JEWS AND GODFEARERS

The aims, contents, method and apologia of the primitive type of the oral Gospel to Israel, may be learned from the summaries of the preaching in Acts, chaps. 2, 3, 10 and 13. These and the references in the Epistles to this primitive propaganda, can be used as trustworthy sources, since they can be shown to be, and are recognized to be, free from suspicion of any later dogmatic bias. From a comparison of the topics in these discourses we may judge that the oral preaching to Jews would normally include the following subjects in the apologia that Jesus was Christ and Lord: the assertion that He was Son of David; the witness of the Baptist; the witness of His own life, teachings and work; of His miracles; and of the Old Testament; the Apostles' witness to His sinless sufferings, with detailed narrative of His rejection by the Jews, His condemnation by Pilate, His crucifixion on the tree and burial in the tomb; to His resurrection on the third day and His appearances to the disciples for many days, when He ate and drank with them; to His commission to them to preach a universal salvation; to his ascension, exaltation and heavenly ministry; and to His coming again for world judgment. Upon this apologia is based the offer of salvation and the gift of the Spirit, and the warning to beware of neglect of so great salvation. All these subjects are to be found in a combination of the four reports of the oral Gospel to the Jews; and with certain exceptions to be noted, the principal and controlling subjects appear in the separate reports.[1] The relations of these subjects and the method of their presentation can be most clearly recognized in Peter's discourse at Pentecost in Acts 2.

It is a divine call to accept and share with the already believing

[1] Zahn has discussed the Unwritten Gospel in his *Introduction*, § 48; and Missionary Methods in the Apostolic Age in his *Skizzen aus dem Leben der Alten Kirche*, 1898, p. 42 ff.

Apostles and brethren, salvation by faith in Jesus of Nazareth. It is an appeal and summons based on their witness: a call to repent and be baptized upon profession of faith in the name, the self-revelation of Jesus, for the remission of sins and reception of the Holy Spirit, vs. 38. It is likewise so presented as a word of salvation in the other reports: 3, 19.26; 10, 36, cp. 11, 14; 13, 26.38; and in the latest written Gospel, John 20, 31. Response of faith in this call involves, however, the necessity that the hearers should know assuredly that the crucified Jesus is definitely avouched by God as Lord and Christ, vs. 36. The certitude of faith must rest on the apologias and witness of the Gospel. Hence Peter begins, vs. 16, with the claim that the disciples' experience of a new life of faith and their gift of the Spirit is evidence that Messiah is come; and is now imparting the redemptive blessings of the messianic kingdom as predicted by Joel. On this basis of Christian experience he proceeds to bear his witness that Jesus is the Messiah.

For these men of Jerusalem have themselves already had the witness of the life and character of 'Jesus of Nazareth,' vs. 22. This title with which the apologia opens, is a summary reference to Christ's self-revelation in his ministry among them. It sums up the content of the recurring phrase: 'the things concerning Jesus,' τὰ περὶ Ἰησοῦ. Should any hearer ask, 'what things,' we already have in Lk. 24, 18 f., the answer: 'Dost thou sojourn alone in Jerusalem and knowest not the things concerning Jesus the Nazarene, who was a prophet mighty in deed and word before God and all the people?" Luke in his Gospel has already recorded these things for the readers of Acts. But in the propaganda preaching and especially in districts distant from the centers of Christ's own ministry, this witness of the character, words and deeds of Jesus must have been given in its essential contents. In the report of the next sermon this reference to the revelation in his life is again summed up in the titles: the Holy and Righteous One; the Prince of Life, 3, 14 f. Accompanying this witness of His redemptive life and work is the witness God gave to Him: He has been approved of God unto them by the miracles God did by Him, even as they themselves know. They are never denied by the Apostles' opponents; and the original or continued disparagement of them by the Jewish rulers as wrought by Satanic power, is met as in the Gospels by pointing out that in His exorcisms Christ

healed and freed those who were held down by the tyranny of the Devil, and is thus not the ally but opponent of Satan, 10, 38.

To claim for Him, however, the title of Christ, is in itself an appeal to prophecy. Not only to the Jew but to the Godfearer, 10, 43, the heathen, Rom. 1, 2; 3, 21, and to all believers in a historic revelation of a coming redemption, the Gospel must furnish the witness of the Law and the Prophets. It is therefore an essential element in all forms of New Testament Gospel preaching. But the obstacle to a recognition of this testimony, and to an acceptance of the witness to which Peter has already appealed, was the crucifixion. Even to Christ's disciples, Lk. 24, 21, the Cross dispelled the otherwise assured hope that Jesus was he that should redeem Israel. How much more was that Cross a barrier to faith for all classes of contemporary Jews, whose messianic hopes and ideals based on the Prophets, it so absolutely contradicted. A suffering messiah had no place in the Jewish thought of that age. While G. Dalman [2] has shown the later development of the idea of a suffering messiah in the doctrine of the Synagogue in the first Christian millennium, the Jews of the Apostolic days did not so read or understand their prophets; and "in the pre-Christian extracanonical literature, there is no trace of the idea." [3] Defense of the Gospel to Israel must therefore meet the demand for proofs that the Messiah according to Old Testament predictions was to suffer and thereby enter His glory.

These proofs accordingly appear in all the propaganda to Jews as a fundamental element in the Apostolic apologia: by Peter at Jerusalem, 2, 23; 3, 18; 4, 11; by Paul in Pisidian Antioch, 13, 27, and at Thessalonica, 17, 2, where as his custom was he reasoned with them in the synagogue from the Scriptures, opening and alleging that it behooved the Christ to suffer. At Cæsarea before Agrippa, he characterizes his ministry as saying nothing but what the prophets and Moses did say should come; and first, 'how that the Christ must suffer.[4] The data of the Gospels and Epistles support the theory that very early a collection was made of the Old Testament messianic passages, especially those relating to the

[2] *Der leidende Messias*, 1887.

[3] V. H. Stanton, *H. D. B.*, III, 354 b.

[4] E. A. Edghill, *Evidential Value of Prophecy*, discusses in detail the use of prophecy in the Acts, pp. 484–524.

suffering Messiah. The growth of such a collection can be traced through the Apostolic Fathers and second-century apologists down to the Testimonia, or Old Testament witness, of Cyprian.[5]

So throughly familiar are the original readers of the New Testament books with this witness of prophecy, that the writers are content to refer to it in a condensed summary as in Lk. 24, 26 f. and 45 f.; or as in the first sermon where Peter's presentation of it is compressed in the statement that Jesus' death was 'by the determinable counsel and foreknowledge of God,' 2, 23. We can conceive of few occasions where this witness of the Old Testament to the sufferings and death of the Christ would be given in fuller detail than here at Pentecost before the men who had been associated with Jesus' crucifixion, and by the men whose minds had first been opened by the risen Christ to understand those Scriptures. Yet neither here nor in any other portion of the New Testament is it presented in detail and in a formal connected argument, as we should expect if these writings were intended directly for those who were not yet believers, and if they were primarily and dominantly apologetic.

This witness of prophecy concerning the death of Christ is naturally connected directly with its witness to His resurrection. As however on Easter Day it was the appearance of Jesus risen that made possible the Apostles' recognition and understanding of the prophecies of His death and resurrection, so both Peter at Jerusalem, 2, 24, and Paul in Pisidian Antioch, 13, 30 f., introduce the prophecy of the resurrection by the declaration of the fact that God has raised Jesus from the dead. On the basis of this announcement, Psalm 16 is interpreted as pointing to, and as receiving its fulfillment in, the dead, buried and risen messianic Son of David. The validity of this interpretation of prophecy has, however, still to be supported by the witness of the Apostles to the fact of their Lord's resurrection. And on this first announcement of His resurrection, their testimony must evidently have been given in fullness of detail. The brief assertion, 'of which we all are witnesses,' vs. 32, would clearly be inadequate for conviction. Even in the extremely condensed report, indications of a fuller testimony may be recognized. The reference in vs. 29 to David's death,

[5] See J. R. Harris, *Testimonies*, Pt. 1, 1916, and the references to Florilegia in Moffatt's *Introd.*

burial and tomb suggest their application in the Apostle's interpretation of the Psalm, to the significant facts of Christ's death and His burial in the tomb; and the mention of the resurrection on the third day in the oral gospel to Cornelius, 10, 40 f., and in the primitive tradition repeated by Paul, I Cor. 15, 1.4, would reasonably indicate a recital in their preaching of their experiences at the tomb and of its condition on the third day. In addition, the emphasis by both Apostles, 2, 31; 13, 36, on the fact that unlike David, Jesus risen 'saw no corruption,' likewise suggests that in their propaganda preaching of which we have received only summaries, they testified to Christ's resurrection appearances in a form revealing that he was freed from death's dominion. The full witness of the Apostles to the resurrection is, however, like the Old Testament witness to the suffering Christ, assumed throughout the Acts; since it has already been recalled in Luke's Gospel, and since his readers have been familiar with it since their conversion.[6]

But the climax of the Apostle's apologia is his declaration of the heavenly exaltation of the risen Jesus as Lord. With what witness, however, can such an assertion concerning his state in the invisible world be supported, and be made a basis of conviction of its hearers? As in their defense of the gospel of the resurrection they offered the evidence of his appearances to them, it is possible that they may also in connection with 2, 34 f. have reported his Ascension. Chase, *Credibility of Acts*, p. 151, and Edghill, *Evidential Value of Prophecy*, p. 497, have suggested that these verses may include a reference to Psalm 68, 11; since they take up three of its words: ὑψωθείς, λαβών and ἀνέβη; and it is this Psalm passage that is applied in Eph. 4, 8 ff. to the Ascension and the succeeding gifts. In any case Peter adds as in his defense of the resurrection, the witness of the Old Testament: using, as throughout the New Testament, Ps. 110 as a prediction of the exaltation of the Messiah. And in support of this fulfillment of it, he points his hearers to the effects of Jesus' exaltation, as seen

[6] In preaching to Cornelius, 10, 42 ff., there is an announcement at this point, as in the written gospels, of an Apostolic Commission from the risen Christ to preach his Gospel of salvation. Peter's concluding exhortation, 2, 38 ff., assumes and recalls this commission; cp. also 3, 19.26; 4, 12.19. Paul in his synagogue sermon in Acts 13 does not definitely refer to the commission of the original Apostles; but in 26, 16 ff. connects his own commission as apostle to the Gentiles with the appearance to him of the risen Jesus.

in the gifts of the Spirit to His disciples: 'Being by the right hand of God exalted and having received of the Father the promise of the Holy Spirit, he both poured forth this which ye see and hear.' This ministry of the exalted Jesus could be recognized both in the special spiritual gifts at Pentecost and also then and later in the absolute conviction and in the reality of the spiritual experience of the Apostolic preachers. There was a boldness, παρρησία, fervor, and clearness of piercing insight into the hearers' mental and spiritual needs and hopes; a manifestation of certitude, faces shining like angels; at times a rush of power, leading the heathen Festus to exclaim that the preacher was raving; or when as in Corinth, they preached in weakness, fear and trembling, yet it was with the evident presence of the Spirit and with power. The manifestations of the Spirit in the believers at Pentecost were gifts from the exalted Jesus; and they completed the manifold witness by which the hearers could know assuredly that God had made Him both Lord and Christ.

This is Luke's report for believers, of the fundamental outlines of the first witness and defense of the redemptive facts attesting Jesus as the Christ. Its general characteristics and structure are controlled by its direct purpose. It is not an apology to meet later or currect objections to Jesus' character, miracles, failure to fulfill prophecy, or to the reality of His resurrection and of the spiritual gifts of His disciples. It records the Apostolic presentation of Him as redeeming Lord and Christ as the basis of their call to salvation by faith in Him as thus presented. On this occasion, as we should expect, and as we find, their witness to Him centers around the Gospel of His resurrection. It was then first announced; and with no suggestion of the possibility of denial. It here crowns the witness of His life and miracles. The Old Testament prophecy relating to it, reveals at the same time the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God concerning His death, and prepares for the Apostolic testimony to its fulfillment. And it is this gospel of the resurrection which makes possible the gospel of Jesus' exaltation and heavenly ministry in which he bestows forgiveness of sins and the gift of the Holy Spirit, 2, 38.

The result was that of the multitudes at the feast of Pentecost, the majority of whom were familiar with the teachings and works of Jesus, three thousand were spiritually receptive, vs. 37, to-

wards this message of combined witness and appeal; and in baptism professed their acceptance of it with penitence and faith. The effect on the rest of the multitude is not indicated; save that we learn of no opposition, and that in this earliest period the disciples had favor with all the people. But while the people of Jerusalem thus looked with favor on the new movement and its teaching, they are thereby described as not looking upon it with conviction. Any further witness to them must necessarily follow the essential lines of the sermon in Acts 2. So we find it in Luke's reports of later propaganda among the Jews. Differences in the several Lukan reports of the primitive apologia may be due partly to varying measures of condensation; to the fact that the later reports assume the lines of testimony previously recorded; to the special features and interests of his various sources of these discourses; but principally to the definite exigencies of the occasions on which these later discourses were spoken.

In Acts 3 the preaching of Peter after healing the lame man marks a new stage of evangelization. The hearers are men of Jerusalem familiar with the Apostolic message in the previous chapter. It has, however, not led to their conviction of its truth. And we may judge from the new form, new emphases and developments in Peter's renewal of it, that the obstacle to their belief was the death of Jesus as a malefactor; thus contradicting their conception of the messianic predictions and rebutting the claim of His resurrection. There was besides the difficulty of grasping the significance of an invisible Messiah, whose absence precluded the establishment of the messianic kingdom of their expectations. To meet these difficulties Peter addresses to the crowds attracted by the miracle of healing, a new call to salvation, 3, 19.26, by faith in Jesus as the Christ.

Central again for the genesis of this faith is the claim that God has glorified Jesus, vs. 13. The self-revelation of His earthly life is not given, either because it is already known to the hearers, or to the Christian readers of the Acts; but it is summed up in entitling Him the Servant, the Holy and Just One and the Prince of Life, which titles themselves express his fulfillment of the Old Testament messianic ideals, Edghill, 500 f. He faces at once the skandalon of the Cross; and instead of apology for its ignominy, charges his hearers with the crime and sin of delivering to death

Him whom they knew as the Holy and Just One; whose innocence even the heathen Pilate recognized, when they preferred a murderer to Him and murdered the Prince of Life. Again the fulfillment of the divine counsel in His death is shown in God's raising Him from the dead; and the Apostle's testimony to this fact was either given at length in the original discourse, or is assumed to be already known by his hearers. But a new testimony to it is now given in the fact of this miracle of healing wrought through them by the risen Jesus, 3, 12.16; 4, 9.10.

In general this is but a renewal of the claims in the Pentecost sermon which have hitherto failed to win the present hearers' acceptance. The Apostle cannot offer new lines of evidence in support of them; but he can hope to remove their special difficulty of believing that the Christ was according to the Old Testament to suffer, by a fuller development of the argument from prophecy on this subject. He had intimated his intention to do this in his opening words announcing the theme of his sermon: God has glorified his Servant Jesus. These words are recognized to be an assertion that the passage in Isaiah 52, 13–53, 12, concerning the suffering and exalted Servant, points to the death and resurrection of Jesus. And now, 3, 18, he adds to the Pentecost sermon the definite statement: The things which God foreshowed by the mouth of all the prophets, that His Christ should suffer, He thus fulfilled. This mere assertion was not sufficient to produce conviction. The definite and complete proof of it was precisely what was needed by the hearers to enable them to accept it, and along with it the other lines of testimony. We must conclude that this was then given to them; though as before noted, it is not here recorded for the believing readers who were already fully acquainted with it.

The sufferings of the Christ are next, vs. 19, related to the offer of salvation; and this in turn is connected with the other Jewish difficulty of an invisible Messiah and the delay in the restoration of all things promised in the messianic prophecies. The Apostles themselves had already questioned the risen Christ concerning this subject, 1, 6–8, and received answer that the times and seasons were in the Father's own power. Here in v. 21 is an echo of that answer: the heavens must receive Him until the times of restoration. His Parousia will be the season of 'refreshment'; probably

from the tribulations of the last times. The subject appears to be one of the topics in the primitive Gentile propaganda, II Thess. 1, 7–10; and we can note its continued discussion in the later period: cp. Heb. 9, 24–28; II Peter, 3, 8 ff.; Rev. 6, 10 f. Yet Luke has again not recorded Peter's discussion of this prominent subject of eschatology, save in the general reference in vss. 22 to 25 to the whole prophetic teaching concerning "these days.' From this teaching he quotes but two texts: one the warning of Moses against the rejection of the 'prophet like unto me'; the other an appeal to them as sons of the prophets and of the Covenant to accept the covenant promise of universal blessing in the seed of Abraham.

The success of this discourse in meeting the special Jewish difficulties, is seen both in the increase of converts to five thousand, and also in the attempt of the Sadducean element in the Sanhedrin, cp. 4, 5; 5, 17, to repress the rising movement based on the preaching of the resurrection, to which the Sadducees were fundamentally opposed, 23, 8. Before the Sanhedrin therefore the Apostles repeat the claim that the miracle of healing had been effected by the power of the risen Jesus; and thereby witnessed to the fulfillment of Christ's own words to the Sanhedrin: He, the stone, rejected by the Jewish builders has become the head of the corner, Mtw. 21, 42. At their subsequent arrest and examination by the Council, 5, 30 ff., we observe that no reference is recorded of the witness of Christ's character, teachings and works since the Council had already rejected this by their crucifixion of Jesus; nor to the witness of prophecy, in whose interpretation by Pharisaic messianism the Sadducean element had no interest. The apostolic apologia in these circumstances centers in the resurrection and divine exaltation of Jesus as Israel's redeemer; with no fear of contradiction of their witness to the Easter facts; with the witness of miracles performed in the name and power of the risen Jesus; and with the witness of the religious experience of believers, in their possession of the Holy Spirit.

After this propaganda to Jews in Jerusalem, with its indication of a definite type of apologia whose several lines of defense could be developed to meet special demands, Luke has added a history of the extension of the gospel to Samaritans, to the Ethiopian proselyte and to Jews only in Phœnicia, Cyprus and Antioch.

The absence in these narratives of the discourses which led to conversion, may be partly explained as by Spitta and J. Weiss as due to the characteristics of the sources used by Luke in these sections;[7] or to Luke's use of them to emphasize the fact of the admission of the new groups of converts rather than the mode of their conversion. That this was effected by the original propaganda preaching of Acts 1–5, with the necessary adaptations and special emphases, may be concluded from Luke's references to it by his usual summarizing general titles for the gospel preaching. Thus in Samaria, corresponding to the general description of the 'evangelizing' of Peter and John, 8, 25, as 'testifying and speaking the word of the Lord,' cp. 2, 40, and to the Samaritan reception of 'the word of God,' 8, 14, Philip preached the Christ, vs. 5; and 'evangelized concerning the kingdom of God and the name of Jesus Christ, vs. 12. At the close of Acts, Luke sums up Paul's work at Rome in very similar terms: preaching the kingdom of God and teaching the things concerning the Lord Jesus Christ. Paul could base his exposition of the Gospel to the Jews in Rome, both on the Law of Moses and on the prophets, 28, 23. But to the Samaritans whose only sacred book was the Pentateuch, the general Christian apologia had clearly to be presented in a special method. Concerning this we have no record. Yet the opening statement, vs. 5, that Philip preached the Christ to them would justify us in concluding that his preaching would have to be founded on a declaration of the Jewish Christian doctrine of Messiah as correcting and completing the messianism and eschatology of Samaria. Professor Montgomery in his presentation of these doctrines[8] has shown that 'the Samaritan notion of Messiah, which can be traced back to a fairly early period, makes of him only a second Moses; he is primarily the prophet that shall come, like Moses; he was to be a revealer of hidden or lost truth; his proper title is Ta'eb, the Restorer, whose chief function is to introduce the millennium, that will be followed by the day of vengeance, resurrection and judgment.'

Philip's Gospel of Christ 'who will declare all things,' John 4,

[7] The theories as to these sources are tabulated by Moffatt, *Introduction*, 286 ff.

[8] J. A. Montgomery, *The Samaritans*, p. 239 ff., especially p. 243 ff. on the Samaritan notion of Messiah.

25, is necessarily based on Jesus' own preaching of the kingdom of God, vs. 12; and the witness of these words of Jesus is supported by the witness 'concerning the name of Jesus Christ': His self-revelation in His life, teaching, redemptive works, death and resurrection. In all accounts of initial preaching to Jews, special mention is made of the witness of the Old Testament Psalmists and Prophets to Messiah's death, resurrection and exaltation. Its omission here may have its sufficient explanation in the brevity of the narrative. But while it was probably referred to as being both a constant element of apologia and also of the primitive baptismal profession as early as the conversion of Paul, which was contemporary with this period, I Cor. 15, 3 f.; cp. vs. 1, yet we should anticipate that it would not have its usual prominence among hearers who neither recognized nor knew the Hebrew prophecies; who would find no stumbling block in the doctrine of a suffering Messiah; and in whose later literature, cp. Montgomery, pp. 248 ff., Messiah was to die in peace. In this situation the emphasis on Philip's miracles, vss. 6.7, 13, and the interest in the gifts of the Spirit, with which he was himself endowed, 6, 3, become specially significant. As in Acts 3 and 4, such miracles and gifts are witnesses to the reality and redemptive power of Jesus' resurrection and heavenly ministry; and led to their faith in Philip's Gospel and to their baptism into the name of the Lord Jesus.

The next step in the extension of the Gospel is Philip's preaching to the Ethiopian proselyte, 8, 26 ff. Here again the special interest of the writer in the admission of the Eunuch into the Church, is shown in his recording the convert's question: what doth hinder me to be baptized; and in the divine directions in vss. 26.29, cp. 10, 47; 11, 17. And again the preaching is summarized in the statement: he brought to him the good tidings of Jesus, vs. 35. *εὐηγγελίσατο αὐτῷ τὸν 'ησοῦν.* But in this case it was distinctly based on the messianic interpretation of the suffering and death of the Servant in Is. 53.

In contrast to these brief and general summaries of the Gospel apologia in Philip's evangelization, Luke has recorded in unusually definite outlines Peter's presentation of the Gospel to Cornelius, 10, 34–43. Although it is addressed to a heathen godfearer, it may be considered here in connection with the propaganda among

Jews, since he declares that it is the Gospel to Israel which he will preach to this man who is already familiar with the Christian movement throughout all Judaea, vs. 37. As in the two earlier discourses in Acts 2 and 3, the primary and controlling interest of both preacher and hearers is in the Gospel as an offer of personal redemption. Cornelius as a pious godfearer had already accepted the Jewish belief in a coming world judgment. And this belief had awakened his sense of need of forgiveness and acceptance with God. When therefore he was divinely moved to send for Peter, it was 'to hear words by which he should be saved,' 11, 13 f. Hence to him Peter brings, as to the Jews at Pentecost, the "word God sent, preaching peace by Jesus Christ, the Lord of all." Again the defense and exposition of these claims is given in the apologia of witness: the preparatory witness of the Baptist; God's witness in Jesus' baptism, when He was anointed with the Holy Spirit and with power; the witness of His own redemptive life, as He went about doing good; the witness of God's working through Him in His Healings and exorcisms; and the witness of the Apostles to His ministry of word and deed, to His death and resurrection, vss. 40–43. To the previous witness to the resurrection, there are here added specific references to the Third Day, the appearances to the disciples and the eating and drinking with them. On the other hand, there is no reference in our record to the Old Testament witness to the death and resurrection of the Messiah. 'All the prophets' are indeed referred to; but as witnesses that every believer in the Christ shall receive remission of sins. It has already been stated that Christ's death and resurrection 'according to the Scriptures,' would either be preached in the initial presentation of the Gospel or be the subject of instruction before the baptismal profession. There would, however, be no occasion to emphasize this witness of prophecy in preaching to the Centurion, who would not experience the constant difficulty of the Jew in recognizing the resurrection of a Messiah whom they could not conceive of as dying. For Cornelius, the infamy of the crucifixion is dispelled by the witness to Jesus' holy life and work; and the reality of the resurrection is assured by the testimony of the divinely accredited Apostle.

Thus to the Gentile godfearer the emphasis of the defense and confirmation of the Gospel that Jesus is Christ and Lord is on

the redemptive facts of His life, death and resurrection. The accompanying appeal and call to accept Him as the Christ rests on the Apostle's assurance of a divine commission from the risen Christ to preach unto the people, λαός; and the assurance was supported in this case by the divine communication to Cornelius to hear Peter's message, vs. 22. The call rests further on the declaration that it is the risen Jesus who is appointed Judge of the living and the dead; and that forgiveness in that judgment is offered through His name to every one that believeth in Him, vss. 42 f.

We must notice, however, that there is no mention of the witness of the ministry of the exalted Christ in the personal experience of Christians; and that no appeal for faith is based on the promise of receiving the Spirit. If in the ten-verse summary of the discourse, there is intentional omission by the Apostle of reference to the gift of the Spirit in view of the problem of the baptism of the uncircumcised, his doubts were dissipated by their sudden reception of the Spirit, which was manifested in the gift of tongues with grateful adoration of God. This reception of the blessing of the sacrament of baptism was to him and to the Church of Jerusalem, 11, 17 f., divine warrant for their reception of that sacrament and for their admission into the fellowship of the Church.[9]

[9] In contrast to the view of the method of primitive apologetic here presented, may be compared P. Wernle, *Verhandlungen d.* II, *Internat. Kongresses f. Allgemeine Religionsgeschichte,* Basel, 1904, pp. 362–369. He there constructs the primitive apologetic in three stages. As its basis, the argument from miracle and prophecy, as in the Gospels; next, the genial development by Paul, in whose system is presented the proof of the miracle of the spiritual life of Christians based on Christ as the supreme miracle, and this in apologetic polemic against any other religion; while finally in the Prologue of the Fourth Gospel is the transition to the Logos Apologetic, in which Christianity is presented as the unification and completion of whatever truth is found in the Greek popular philosophy, with its concepts of Logos and the Law of Nature, although Wernle definitely recognizes that in the body of the Fourth Gospel, the two earlier forms of apologetic are still emphasized. Such a theoretical construction disregards the facts that the assumed second, Pauline, stage is historically the apologetic by which converts were won before his mission and in a period long antedating the composition of the Gospels; that the Gospels, besides their witness of miracle and prophecy, most directly present the unique character and life of Christ, the divine witness to him and his effectual offer of spiritual renewal and salvation; and that the view in the Johannine

So fixed became the type of apology to the Jews, that we find Paul near the end of the second decade of propaganda, presenting the Gospel in the Galatian synagogues with essentially the same features and in the same general method as that of the Jerusalem Apostles. And this, despite the differences of conditions in addressing the crowds in the Temple courts and in preaching to the congregations of hellenistic Jews and godfearers in the synagogues of the Dispersion. There seems to have been no synagogue of Christians in Jerusalem, cp. Weizsäcker, *Apos. Age*, I, 46; and there are no references to apologetic propaganda there. The speaking and disputing of Stephen and of Paul in the hellenistic synagogues of Jerusalem, must, in view of the prompt charge of blasphemy and of the ensuing deadly persecution, have been direct polemic against Jewish legalism.

In the synagogues of the Dispersion, Paul's preaching had to be related to a messianic hope which it may be conjectured would not be of the Palestinian zelotic type,[10] nor so dominantly affected by pharisaic legalism and apocalyptic. In the face of Græco-Roman culture, the Jew would be intensely conscious of his superior divine election, and would the more dwell upon the hope of the coming of the Kingdom to Israel. At Pisidian Antioch, therefore, in natural connection with the synagogue reading of the Law and Prophets, Paul prefaces his Gospel message with an extended exposition of the messianic hope as its foundation, 13, 17–22. This hope rests on the election of the patriarchs and on the divine leading of the elect nation from the days of Moses to those of David, to whom is given the distinct promise of a messianic Son of David. According to this promise God has now brought to Israel a Saviour, Jesus.

In the succeeding outline of the defense of this claim, vss. 23–37, and from the later summaries of it in the Acts and Pauline Epistles, we can mark the characteristic feature of the Apostle's method of presenting the Gospel in the Jewish synagogues. He

Prologue, of Christianity as the full certainty of revelation completing all previous knowledge of divine truth, already appears in Paul's summary of his apologia to the heathen, Rom. 1, 18–2, 16, in the christology of his Epistles, as well as in his address at Athens. For a related view in the Synoptics, see Forrest, *op. cit.*, pp. 45 ff. and 107.

[10] Cp. K. Lake, *The Stewardship of Faith*, p. 21.35.44.

constantly emphasizes that both the facts and doctrines of his Gospel are according to the Scriptures; have the witness of the law and the prophets; are the Gospel of God which he promised afore through His prophets. More definitely, in view of Jewish ignorance of these prophecies although they are read every Sabbath, his Præparatio Evangelica is an exposition of the real content and import of the messianic teachings of the Old Testament. When by reasoning in the synagogues, by opening the meaning of the Scriptures and by bringing forward proofs by comparison of passages, 17, 2 f., Paul had recalled in Antioch, Thessalonica, Berea and Corinth, the real Old Testament teaching concerning Messiah, his kingdom and salvation, he could proceed to press the conclusion that 'the Christ is this Jesus whom I proclaim unto you.' Before Agrippa, 26, 22, he describes this preparatory messianic teaching as ' saying nothing but what the prophets and Moses did say should come: how that the Christ must suffer, and how that he first by the resurrection of the dead should proclaim light both to the people and to the Gentiles.' The Christ's death and resurrection are likewise the special messianic prophecies emphasized in Thessalonica, 17, 3, at Pisidian Antioch 13, 27.34 and at Corinth, I Cor. 15, 3.4. Their definite exposition was necessary both to remove, as in Acts 3, 13 ff., the Jewish difficulty in accepting a suffering messiah, and also because they were the 'primary points,' *ἐν πρώτοις*, in his Gospels of messianic salvation.

In the structure of the apologia in Act 13, 23 ff., thus dominated by the witness of prophecy, the framework of the earlier Palestinian oral Gospel can still be recognized. The defense of the claim that the promise of a messianic Son of David has been fulfilled in Jesus, begins with the witness of the Baptist as the messenger prophesied in Malachi 3, 1, preaching the baptism of repentance 'before the face of his entrance'; [11] and testifying to his approaching ministry and to his exalted character. At this point, vs. 26, with the announcement that 'the word of this salvation has been sent forth,' we should expect as in Peter's similar introduction to his summary of Christ's ministry, 10, 36, a reference to Christ's

[11] With Acts 13, 24: *πρὸ προσώπου τῆς εἰσόδου αὐτοῦ*, cp. Mal. 3, 1, LXX: *ὁδὸν πρὸ προσώπου μου*; and vs. 2: *ἡμέραν εἰσόδου αὐτοῦ*.

own witness in His ministry and teaching. Yet in our record it is passed over. It proceeds at once to the witness of the prophecies fulfilled in His death, and to details concerning Pilate, the tree, the burial in a tomb. These point onward to a full account in the original discourse of the facts of the resurrection from the tomb. In our summary report, however, it is simply announced as God's act and witness to him; and the witnesses to this resurrection are the Galileans, cp. I Cor. 15, 5 ff., to whom he appeared for many days. And again the resurrection and exaltation are 'according to the Scriptures'; the same 16th Psalm being quoted as earlier by Peter, and as bearing the same witness to Jesus' resurrection without 'seeing corruption.' Here the apologia of witness ends. Upon it is based the succeeding appeal, vss. 38 f., to accept the salvation offered by Jesus who has thus been made known unto them, as in the similar conclusion of Peter's apologia, as Lord and Christ.

We may notice that Luke's interest in reporting the prominence of the Old Testament witness which characterized the Apostle's synagogue preaching, has occasioned a very compressed indication of the use of some of the other constant lines of witness. Thus the divine witness is generalized in the statements that God has brought to Israel according to promise, a Saviour Jesus, of David's seed, vs. 23; that He has fulfilled the promise made unto the fathers, by 'raising up' Jesus as Messiah, in accordance with Psalm 2;[12] and that God has raised up Jesus from the dead, vss. 30.34.37. A compressed reference to His heavenly exaltation and to the promised ministration of the Spirit, with which Peter's argument closed, 2, 33 ff., has been found by exegetes, including Meyer and B. Weiss, in the citation in vs. 34: I will give unto you the holy and sure *blessings* of David, as in R. V. They regard the words as a text for an argument, developed in the original discourse, that the blessings of messianic salvation promised to David will come through Jesus as the mediator of salvation in His heavenly life, cp. vs. 35. The witness of the preachers' spiritual experience is not offered in the synagogues in the form of miraculous gifts. We can only conclude indirectly from their offer of

[12] So Wendt, with citation of authorities, who is followed by Knowling. Meyer, B. Weiss, V. Bartlett are among those who refer the statement to the resurrection.

the word of salvation in vs. 26, and of forgiveness and justification in vs. 38, that the preachers themselves professed the reception of the Spirit.

There is also, however, the more important omission of reference to the witness of Christ's ministry, and hence of its redemptive significance. No allusion is made in Luke's report, to His life, character, teaching and miracles, from the witness of the Baptist to the Passion. This omission, coupled with the character of such references in the Pauline Epistles, is made the basis of theories of the Apostle's ignorance of Christ's earthly life and teaching, or of interest solely in his death and heavenly life. These theories necessarily determine the formulation of Paul's theological system; and as has appeared in the recent discussion of the topic, whether Jesus or Paul was the founder of Apostolic Christianity, they affect fundamentally the historical criticism of the Gospels. Our interest, however, at this point is in the omission of references to the earthly ministry of Jesus in the report of the synagogue sermon. It cannot in any case be due to Paul's ignorance of the Gospel tradition of Christ's words and deeds, or to lack of interest in the redemptive significance of Christ's whole human experience and work. This result has been reached in recent years in numerous critical investigations of the subject. Among these, starting with Paret's article, Paulus und Jesus,[13] and Keim's estimate of Paul as a source for the life of Christ, [14] are Paul Feine's work, *Jesus Christus u. Paulus*, 1902; R. J. Knowling, *Testimony of St. Paul to Christ*, 1905; and especially the work of the Danish scholar, Olaf Moe, *Paulus u. die evangelische Geschichte*, 1912.[15]

Apart from the details of the discussion, a summary of which appears in Zahn's *Introd.*, § 48.4, it can be recalled that Paul before his conversion would have ample acquaintance with the

[13] *Jahrbuch f. deutsche Theologie*, 1858, p. 1 f.

[14] *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, 1867, I, p. 35 f.

[15] M. Goguel, *L'Apôtre Paul et Jésus-Christ*, 1904, discusses Paul's knowledge of the life and words of Jesus, with a list of the principal earlier discussions, on p. 69. He concludes that Paul probably knows fairly well the life of Christ. Yet the events of his life, if Paul knew them, have for him no religious interest. For the object of his faith is exclusively the glorified Christ, the heavenly Being, the Spirit, p. 97 f. Knowling, *op. cit.*, pp. 511–515, gives a brief account of this third chapter of Goguel's work.

Oral Gospel preached in Jerusalem by the Christians with whom he disputed in the Hellenist synagogues, and by the Christians whom he persecuted for this preaching. At his baptism at Damascus, there was delivered to him the Gospel which he preached, I Cor. 15, 1, whose 'primary points' were Christ's redemptive death and resurrection; yet this Gospel delivered to him and preached by him must have been the complete Oral Gospel which Ananias held in common with the Jerusalem Apostles. Fuller details of it would be gained by him in intercourse with Christians at Damascus; with Peter, James and other workers at Jerusalem, Gal. 1, 15; with Barnabas, both at Jerusalem and at Antioch in the year of their teaching of the Church in that city. If his years at Tarsus that preceded the association with Barnabas, included as is usually understood independent missionary work in Cilicia, he must have been equipped to furnish fullest information concerning the life, ministry and teaching of one whom Jew and Gentile were asked to accept as their Messiah, Saviour and Lord.[16] On his first missionary journey Barnabas and Mark, both members of the primitive Jerusalem Church, were his fellow-workers; and again, from their personal communications or from their instruction of converts, his full acquaintance with the Gospel tradition would result. On the next journey, Silas of the Jerusalem Church and Luke who has written most fully of Christ's life and ministry, are his companions. Zahn indeed strangely holds, *Skizzen*, 84 f., that Paul when by himself as at first at Corinth knew scarcely anything else to preach than 'the Crucified Jesus'; and that he needed the men from Jerusalem to supplement and confirm his preaching by a vividly detailed narrative concerning 'the Lord Jesus.' This however is to confuse the propaganda preaching which must necessarily include some outline at least of Christ's life and work, with the later instruction of converts for baptism. It also overlooks the fact that his companions were, like himself, not original disciples, cp. Acts 1, 21 ff., and must themselves have

[16] Zahn, *Skizzen aus dem Leben der Alten Kirche*, 1898, p. 84: Mission preaching without a vivid narration of the deeds and words of Jesus, would have been an impossibility (Unding). We must entertain a very singular view of Paul as missionary and especially of his well-disposed hearers, if we suppose he reached his results by means of a 'Gospel' without a fullness of historical material.

learned the Gospel tradition, as Paul too could have learned it. It is therefore incredible that upon reaching Corinth alone, he should have 'known scarcely anything else to preach than the great fundamental fact of Jesus crucified.' Further, the Pauline Epistles reveal an acquaintance by the Apostle and assume a knowledge on the part of his converts, both of Christ as the object of faith on the basis of his complete self-manifestation, Feine, pp. 45–56, and also of the essential topics of Christ's teaching, Moe, 102–130; Feine, 150–297.[17]

The omission of reference to the witness of Jesus' life and teaching in the synagogue address was therefore not due to Paul's ignorance of it or of its persuasive power and redemptive significance. Nor could it be due to its irrelevance to his apologetic argument from prophecy. On the contrary his argument postulated that his presentation of the prophetic conception of the Messiah must be followed by or interwoven with a presentation of the life, character, teachings and work of Jesus, as its fulfillment. Such we find was his method with the Jews at Rome, Acts 28, 23 ff.; the witness of the Old Testament was correlated with the witness of the life of Christ. His exposition to them of the hope of Israel combined his 'testifying the Kingdom of God,' naturally as preached by Christ, and his persuading them from the law and prophets concerning Jesus, which would involve an account of his life and ministry as the fulfillment of messianic prediction. That he was equipped to give this account appears from the closing description of his work at Rome as preaching the Kingdom of God and teaching 'the things concerning Jesus,' which as is seen in Luke 24, 19, included not only his death and resurrection but his whole ministry of word and deed. Since this Gospel preaching in Rome is entitled, 'this salvation of God,' the use of the same title in 13, 26, 'the word of this salvation' cp. 10, 36, points again to Paul's delivery of the witness of Christ's life in the synagogue at Antioch. Luke's omission of it in his resumé of the synagogue sermon is amply accounted for by the fact that he has not only

[17] J. Weiss, *Urchristm.*, p. 167: 'It is one of the strangest theological errors, when it is supposed that among all the primitive Christian preachers, Paul alone dispensed with the missionary method of illustration through narratives from the life of Jesus, on the view that he knew nothing of it nor wished to know.' See also Harnack, *Date of Acts*, p. 116.

recorded it in his Gospel but has also already summarized it in his reports of propaganda preaching in chapters 2, 3 and 10.

Recognizing therefore that the Pauline discourses in the Jewish synagogues included this witness of Jesus' character and ministry and correlated it with the other essential lines of testimony to his messiahship, we find that his apologia to the Jews conformed to the type which we have already found indicated in the discourses of the Palestinian Apostles. Like them it consists first of a defense of the Gospel in the form of manifold witness to its redemptive facts and truths; and next, of an appeal, solemn exhortation, a divine call to accept this witness, to repent, be baptized for remission of sins and the gift of the Holy Spirit, to enter into the fellowship of believers. In the structure of all the reports of the Oral Gospel in Acts, this division is evident. At the conclusion of the witness at 2, 36 follows the call to profession of faith in vss. 38 ff.; the witness in 3, 12–18 leads to the exhortation to conversion at vss. 19 ff.; the same structure of the evangelization controls the replies of Peter to the Sanhedrin in 4, 8–12; 5, 29–32; his witness to Cornelius ending at 10, 42 introduces the prophetic witness of forgiveness to believers; the apologia of witness in 13, 26–37 that the messianic promise of salvation in vss. 16–25 has been fulfilled in Jesus, Son of David, is followed in 38–41 by the offer of forgiveness and by warning of rejection of this witness and divine call.[18]

[18] This division is also indicated in Luke's special use of διαμαρτύρομαι as applied to the witness. It expresses not simply 'bearing personal testimony' *i. e.*, μαρτυρεῖν, but 'declaring solemnly,' and in this connection, the whole body of witness to Jesus as the Christ, which would of course include the testimony of the preacher's personal experiences, as in Acts 23, 11: ὡς διεμαρτύρω τὰ περὶ ἐμοῦ, οὕτω σε δεῖ μαρτυρῆσαι. It is used four times in Acts in connection with the apologia topics, and is twice joined with a distinct expression, which in 2, 40 points to the call to accept the salvation presented in the witness, and very probably there are the same references in 8, 25. In the report, however, of Paul's address at Miletus, it is used, 20, 24, somewhat more generally than elsewhere in Luke, as solemn attestation of the Gospel of the grace of God; and in a distinctly extended reference, vs. 20, to the call to repent and believe. This more general use appears also in I Thess. 4, 6, where it is concerned with initial moral teachings, although in I Thess. 2, 12; Eph. 4, 17, the simple form μαρτύρομαι is used in this connection, as also in Acts 26, 22, of the apologia of the Gospel in the report of Paul's address. Knowling's view that διαμαρτύρομαι expresses in 2, 40 a solemn 'protest'

For the apologia of witness was never relied upon by the Apostolic preachers as sufficient in itself to win their hearers to faith. It did not and does not always produce conviction. It could not effect the immediate certainty of faith, although its direct aim was to awaken a faith that would issue in a divine certitude of salvation. So Paul views his office, Php. 1, 16: I am appointed for the apologia of the Gospel; and in vs. 7 the apologia is to lead to bebaiosis, the direct certitude of the Gospel.[19] Hence in all the propaganda addresses in Acts, there is a concluding exhortation, a call to hear on the basis of the preceding witness, a divine invitation to accept the salvation effected by the redemptive life, death and exaltation of the Christ of God. It is a call not merely for assent to the truths preached concerning Christ, but for a response of personal faith in which is united the conviction of intellect and conscience with the devotion of the affections and will. Being an offer of divine salvation, it must convince its hearers of their need of it, by awaking a consciousness of their sins; must convince them of a coming divine judgment of these sins; must convince them also that Jesus is the messianic Saviour from sin and that He is the Lord of their life. And it must assure them of a gift of spiritual power with which to realize the ideals it reveals or which it illuminates with a divine light and glory.[20]

Such a faith calling for absolute devotion and sacrifice must rest on the conviction that this call to accept the offer of salvation is fully authenticated as divine; and that the apologia of the witness

against the false views of Peter's hearers, is not in accord with their receptive attitude in vs. 37. Nor can Rackham be followed in regarding it 'a special word for the apostolic witness,' since Luke has recorded only addresses by Apostles, or in restricting it, *e. g.*, 18, 5 to Paul's witness based on his conversion by the risen Jesus, for which μαρτυρεῖν would be used as in I Cor. 15, 15.

[19] The other views of this verse are considered, pp. 124 ff.

[20] Harnack, *Mission and Expansion*, I, p. 382, is disposed to consider that 'it was Paul who first threw into such sharp relief the significance of Jesus Christ as a Redeemer and made this the central point of Christian preaching.' Yet he recognizes that the earlier missionaries also proclaimed that Christ died for sins. His suggestion that in their contact with Jews and godfearers they would be inclined to confine themselves to preaching the imminence of judgment and to proving from the Old Testament that Jesus was to return as judge and Lord, must be qualified by the fact that this witness is followed by their exhortations cited above, to accept the Gospel of salvation in Christ in this judgment, as is shown by B. Weiss, *N. T. Theology*, 40.d.

is irrefragable. And moreover this full assurance of faith demands more direct illumination of mind, kindling of heart and invigoration of will, than can be effected by any human ministry, even that of inspired Apostles. It is therefore to the divine ministry in both preachers and hearers that the New Testament ascribes the genesis of the faith of the primitive believers. By this ministry their eyes were opened; they were turned from darkness to light; were converted; were pricked at the heart, and ask, 'what shall we do then' to obtain forgiveness and inheritance among those who are consecrated by faith in Jesus. In answer, the Apostles summoned them to baptism in the name of Jesus Christ unto remission of sins and to receive the gift of the Holy Spirit, 2, 38; to be baptized and wash away their sins, calling on the name of the Lord, 22, 16.

But in such a spiritual crisis, and such a sudden and complete revolution of intellectual, moral and social life of the Jewish hearers and their adherents, there was clearly needed a further definite ministry to lead them to the direct certitude of their salvation by faith, βεβαίωσις, and to prepare them for Christian life, work and worship after their baptism. As the same preparatory ministry was needed as well by Gentile converts, we shall consider it at the conclusion of our study of the defense of the Gospel to the Gentiles.

2. THE APOLOGIA AND CALL OF THE GOSPEL TO THE GENTILES

That the Gospel should be preached to the Gentiles, must, in view of the theological and practical difficulties of such a conception to Jewish Apostles, rest ultimately on the revealed purpose and command of Christ. The long delay, however, in undertaking this Gentile mission, is itself evidence of the Apostles' uncertainty as to the means of realizing their Master's ideal of a universal Kingdom. They knew as every Jew knew, of the universalism of the predicted messianic blessings.[21] They knew of their Lord's interest in the other sheep outside the Jewish fold, which He must bring; that He, when lifted up, would draw all men unto Him. He had assured them that many would come from the East and from

[21] Bertholet, *Die Stellung d. Israeliten u. d. Juden zu den Fremden*, p. 91 ff.; 303 ff. For a discussion of Christ's attitude to the Gentile world and to its evangelization, see K. Axenfeld in *Missionswissenschaftliche Studien zum G. Warneck*, p. 70 ff.

the West and sit down in the Kingdom of God, Lk. 13, 29. Most definitely, in all the written Gospels a fixed element is the command of the risen Christ for a universal mission:—Mt. 28, 19; Lk. 24; 27; our present ending of Mk. 16, 15 f.; possibly in the lost ending, if with E. J. Goodspeed, *Amer. Jnl. Theology*, 9, p. 484 ff., it was the basis of the Mtw. parallel; also in the intermediate ending as printed in the Nestle editions of the Greek New Testament; John 20, 21–23; cp. Acts 1, 8. And in correspondence with this, in the condensed summaries of the Oral Gospel, the Apostles bear witness to the universality of his salvation:—Acts 2, 17.21.39; 3, 25 f.; 10, 34.43; 13, 29; cp. 15, 14 ff.; Rom. 10,11–20. Yet for a decade the mission was not begun.

Their delay in fulfilling the commission to evangelize the Gentile world, might with probability be ascribed to the fact that they had received no teaching as to the method of heathen propaganda; or as to the definite terms and mode of Gentile admission into the life and worship of believers. They had besides the example of Christ and His purpose in confining His earthly ministry to Israel; and also as introductory to the command to preach to all nations, the initial direction: 'beginning at Jerusalem,' Lk. 24, 47, which is recalled in the frequent formula and its equivalents: to the Jew first and also to the Greeks;—cp. Acts 3, 26; 13, 46; 26, 20; Rom. 1, 16; 2, 9 f.; Ephes. 1, 12. For the Gospel must be preached to the Jew first to confirm the promises made to the fathers, Rom. 15, 8, that thus the Gentiles might glorify God for his mercy revealed to and through Israel. As Achelis has stated,[22] "the return of the Apostles to Jerusalem was the first great missionary act." It was necessary to consolidate the Gospel with the Old Testament religion represented in Jerusalem by every element of the national life and thought both in Palestine and in the Jewish Dispersion; to win Israel or a saving remnant of Israel as a foundation, as the steward of the universal Gospel, as a witness to the fulfillment of the Old Testament promises of salvation in Christ Jesus; and to realize concretely in Jewish Christendom the ideal sketched both in Ephesians and I Peter of an Israel of God, an elect race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a people for God's own possession, a spiritual house, a temple of God into which the Gentiles also are builded together for an habitation of God in the Spirit.

[22] *Das Christenthum i. d. ersten drei Jahrhunderten*, I, p. 2.

In the providence of God, the historic occasion of the Gospel's advance towards the Gentiles was the persecution and death of Stephen. Hitherto Stephen, although presumably a hellenist, and certainly imbued with a distinct conviction of the universalism of the Gospel and of the freedom from legalism which it brought, had himself confined his ministry to Jerusalem alone. They that were scattered abroad upon his death, included his sympathizers; and they carried with them his convictions and his free daring spirit. Philip evangelized Samaria; others of them preached, though to Jews only, in Phœnicia, Cyprus and the metropolis of Antioch; and at length the Cyprians and Cyrenians among them boldly preached to heathen Greeks at Antioch, not waiting for the authority of the Jerusalem Church and its Apostles.[23] As no details are recorded of this last mission, we may proceed to the consideration of the means by which the genesis of faith in Christ was effected by Peter and Paul; with special interest in the apologetic character of their propaganda.

The foundation upon which this evangelization was laid was the Jewish mission among the Gentiles during the two preceding centuries. This had succeeded in making numbers of full converts to Judaism, proselytes; perhaps more largely from among heathen women. But more closely related to the Christian mission was Jewish success in winning a class of 'Godfearers,' throughout the Empire. These while holding back from circumcision, were attached to the Synagogues after they had been won to belief in monotheism, to observance of the Jewish moral code and their Sabbath, and to acceptance of their messianic hope and their expectation of a coming judgment.[24]

[23] In support of this general view of the tendencies of Stephen's teaching and its influence in the primitive Church, see the discussion by B. W. Bacon, Stephen's Speech, its argument and doctrinal relationship, in the Yale Bicentennial Biblical and Semitic Studies, 1901, pp. 213 ff., and cp. his *Story of Paul*, pp. 107 f.; K. Pahncke, *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1912, pp. 1 ff.; Harnack, *Miss. and Expansion*, I, pp. 49 f. A different view is presented by A. Grieve, *H. D. B.*, IV, 614 f., and by McGiffert, *Apos. Age*, pp. 83–89, who maintains that 'to call Stephen a forerunner of Paul and to think of him as anticipating in any way Paul's treatment of the Jewish law and his assertion of a free Gentile Christianity, is to misunderstand him. He neither questioned the continued validity of the Jewish law nor suggested in any way the call of the Gentiles.'

[24] Schürer, *H. J. P.*, II, vol. 2, p. 291 ff., especially 311 ff. and references

Obviously this class was the special seed plot of the Christian Gentile preaching; and its conversion on a large scale [25] was one of the principal occasions for Jewish hatred of the Christian mission and of their incessant attack upon it. As we saw in the previous chapter, Luke has recorded with unusual detail the means of gaining the first representative of this class, the centurion Cornelius. It was substantially the method of apologia to the Jews, although with obvious differences of emphasis on the several lines of witness. We may here note further that his conversion is definitely recorded as being the result of a direct ministry to him and not as the incidental result of his attendance at the synagogue preaching of the Christian missionaries. His conversion being due to a distinct revelation of the divine will, would serve later as an incentive to propaganda among this class of Godfearers when it was met in the synagogues of the Dispersion. And specially his admission to the Church without being circumcised, would inevitably suggest and vindicate the extension of the Gospel mission to Gentiles in general; although the method of preaching the Gospel to them without their previous acquaintance and sympathy with the religion and hope of Israel, which the Godfearers possessed, was not yet indicated.

The first direct Gentile propaganda was made by the Cypriote and Cyrenian refugees from the Jerusalem persecution, Acts 11, 20. In contrast to those who in the previous verse spoke the word to none save only the Jews, these men in Antioch spoke unto the Greeks also, Ἕλληνας, preaching the Lord Jesus. Knowling follows the reading Ἑλληνιστάς; [26] and this on the ground 'that as far as Antioch *Jews only* had been addressed. But on the contrary, Stephen and Paul had addressed Hellenists in their synagogues at Jerusalem, Acts, 6, 8; 9, 29; and they already formed part of the Jerusalem Church, 6, 1. The reading 'Greeks' is moreover supported not only by the contrast with the

on pp. 219 and 304; Von Dobschütz in Hauck's *P. R. E.*, Bd. 16, p. 120 ff.; Bertholet, *op. cit.*, § 7, p. 328 ff.; F. C. Porter, *H. D. B.*, IV, p. 134 f.; Harnack, *Miss. and Expans.* 1, p. 10 f.; Lake, *Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, p. 37 f.

[25] P. Wendland, *Hellen.-Röm. Kultur*, 120, holds that Havet (*Le Christianisme*, IV, 102) is not justified in the exaggerated statement that in Paul's lifetime no one that was actually a heathen, *i. e.*, who did not already know Judaism and its Bible, became a Christian.

[26] See further reference to the reading, chap. vii, n. 3.

Jews, 11, 19, but also by the scope of Luke's comment in the succeeding verses, 21–26. They serve to justify this advance of the Gospel to a distinct new class. It had signal divine blessing, vs. 21, it attracted, like the Hellenist Philip's bold mission to Samaria,[27] the attention of the Church in Jerusalem. Barnabas is sent to Antioch not as a mere assistant of an already successful work, vs. 21, but to inquire into it; and he gives his joyful approval of it as a manifestation of the grace of God. His long journey to Tarsus to seek Paul and engage him in this new work might be best explained as based on his knowledge, 9, 27, of Christ's words at Paul's conversion, which as Luke thrice records contained a commission to preach to the Gentiles: 9, 15; 22, 21; 26, 17. The whole section thus points to a work distinctly in advance of the mission to Hebrews, and Hellenists, Samaritans and Godfearers, which had already the full approval of the Church of Jerusalem. Yet of the method of leading these Greeks at Antioch to faith, we have no information. We must therefore attempt to construct the method of Gentile evangelization from the New Testament references to the later missionary work of the Apostle to the Gentiles.

When Paul turned from the synagogue propaganda among the Jews to preach to Gentiles, he not only incurred the unrelenting hatred of the unbelieving Jews for his teaching and for his success in winning from them the Godfearers, but he had to face the problems of approach to the heathen. There was the initial problem of opposition to a Gospel preached by Jews, and which seemed identical with or essentially related to the Jewish religion. In Philippi Paul and Silas are attacked, because regarded as Jewish preachers, 16, 20, by a heathen populace obsessed with the widespread popular charges against the Jewish beliefs and abhorrent practices. According to P. Wendland, p. 109, this antisemitism dominated the literature concerning Judaism and the popular feeling from the beginning of the first century B. C. 'The worship of God without images, the godlessness revealing itself in the contempt for alien religions, the social isolation promoted by singular observances, in which is betrayed the hatred of mankind and the haughty pride which is all the more without warrant, since the Jews have contributed nothing to culture:

[27] Lake, *op. cit.*, pp. 19–23.

these perhaps are the essential denunciations with which the hate of the antisemitists upbraid them; not to speak of the malicious fictions which this hate has first created.' [28] These slanders are most fully recorded and refuted in Josephus, *Contra Apionem.*[29]

This initial opposition of the heathen, some features of which had still to be dealt with by the Christian apologists of the second and third centuries, would be partly met by the association of Paul with the converted Godfearers. The unbelieving heathen could see in these converts, Gentiles who had accepted a form of Jewish religion which was free from circumcision, mosaic legalism and many characteristic Jewish observances; and especially was not identified with the synagogue. But there still remained the difficulty of bringing the heathen to accept as preparatory to their acceptance of the Gospel, the fundamental truths which had already won the godfearers for the synagogue. The need of this preparation is recognized in the statement of the Epistle to the Hebrews, 11, 6: Without faith it is impossible to please God; which is the Septuagint translation and explanation of the Hebrew phrase 'to walk with God,' that is used of the moral life of Enoch. For he that cometh to God must believe that He is, and that He is a rewarder of them that seek Him. So too the Gentile Clement of Rome recalls in chaps. 35, 36, which we may thus summarize on the basis of Lightfoot's translation: this is the Way, ὁδός, in which we found our salvation, even Jesus Christ; when our intellect became established by means of faith towards God; when we sought out those things which are well pleasing and acceptable to Him, and followed the way of truth, casting off from ourselves all unrighteousness and iniquity, and the rest of the vice list; and when there fell under our apprehension, the things preparing for them that patiently await Him: life in immortality, splendor in righteousness, truth in boldness, faith in confidence, temperance in sanctification.

There was then but one way for Paul to effect this præparatio

[28] Schürer, *H. J. P.*, II, 31.v, furnishes fuller details and references. The texts have been collected by Reinach, *Textes d'auteurs grecs et romains relatifs au judaisme*, 1895.

[29] The contents are outlined in Schürer, II, 33. vi. 1; Geffcken, *Zwei griechische Apologeten*, xxix ff.; M. Friedländer, *Ges. d. Jüd. Apologetik*, 346 ff. J. Bergmann, *Jüd. Apologetik im N. T. Zeitalter, passim;* Niese, *Histor. Zeitschrift*, N. F. 40, p. 229 ff.

evangelica: the method of the Jewish propaganda to the heathen.[30] It is to be found throughout the remains of Jewish hellenistic literature, whose home is Alexandria, and which is dominated by apologetic tendency, Friedländer, p. 22 f. It began with vindication of the Jewish religion against the contempt and misunderstanding that arose when the Jews of the Dispersion spread abroad through the communities of the North African and Ægean coasts. As in Christian apologetic Christ is the first apologist, so in Friedländer's view, p. 27, 'in the Septuagint was the apologist κατ' ἐξοχήν to arise for Judaism.[31] That translation, while it met the needs of Dispersion Jews unfamiliar with Hebrew, had according to Philo [32] this additional result: 'that the holiness of our laws became an object of admiration not only for the Jews, but also for all other nations. Originally written in Chaldaic language, these laws were long inaccessible to the rest of men. Gradually through the practice and observance of them by their professors, their fame spread through the earth. For since even what is noble is temporarily dimmed by envy, and yet at the right time the excellence of its nature is flashed forth, so certain men devoted themselves to a translation of our laws.' Thus, as Friedländer comments, it was made when Mosaism was for a period darkened by the envy of heathen attack at its rapid progress. Therefore its dissemination in a Greek translation would illuminate the heathen as to its true character; would parry their attack and render them receptive for the Jewish faith.

The letter of Pseudo-Aristeas is among the oldest monuments of the Alexandrian Jewish spirit, if Schürer's dating of it as not later than about 200 B. C. is accepted.[33] It contains the legend

[30] Schürer, *H. J. P.*, II, vol. 3, p. 248 ff.; Harnack, *Mission and Expansion of Christianity*, I, p. 9 ff.; M. Friedländer, *op. cit.;* K. Axenfeld, Die jüdische Propaganda als Vorläuferin und Wegbereiterin der urchristlichen Mission, pp. 1–80 of *Missionswissenschaftliche Studien*, zum G. Warneck, 1904. Supplementary to the histories of Hellenistic Jewish apologetic, Bergmann, *op. cit.*, presents the line of defense by Palestinian teachers against the attacks by heathen, Jewish freethinkers, Christians and gnostics, extending through the first four Christian centuries.

[31] Axenfeld quotes Grätz, *Gesch. d. Jud.* 3, 336: The Septuagint is 'the first Apostle that goes forth into all the world and teaches all nations.'

[32] *Vita Mosis*, II, p. 138, quoted by Friedländer.

[33] Bertholet dates it in the first half of the first century, B. C., Fiebig, 96 B. C.

of the translation of the Pentateuch, and uses it as a framework for a panegyric on the Mosaic laws and institutions, in rebuttal of heathen attacks, and contrasts them with heathen folly and idolatry.[34] The Alexandrian Jew Aristobulus, c. 175 B. C., in his Exposition of the Mosaic laws, next presented a glorification of them; and again sought thus to win respect and admiration for the Jewish religion. Not content to assert the essential agreement of Moses and the Greek philosophy, he claimed that the philosophers and poets of Greece had borrowed much from Moses.

About the middle of the second century B. C., Alexandrian propaganda appropriated to its use the form of the Sibylline Oracles. The oldest Jewish portions of the present collection of them is contained in Book Third. In it we find, along with the familiar apologetic features in vss. 8–45, a direct attack on the idolatry and immorality of the heathen world, and in vss. 46–62 the warning of judgment. The date of the Wisdom of Solomon is unsettled, though the period 100–50 B. C. is frequently assigned. It is likewise a defense to the heathen of the supreme revelation of divine wisdom in the religion of Moses; and it too advances in chaps. 13–15 to an attack upon heathen polytheism, idolatry and immorality; renewing the polemic of Isaiah 44, 12 ff. and Jer. 10, 2 ff., cp. Ps. 115, 3 ff., with appropriation, according to Geffcken, p. xxiii, of the forms of Greek philosophic criticism of polytheism.[35]

This combined apology and polemic was the basis of the successful hellenistic Jewish propaganda from the synagogues scattered throughout the Roman Empire, in the two centuries preceding Paul's mission. Briefly stated, the method of winning over opponents to Israel's faith followed a fixed general type: a type so simple, logical, popular and effective, that it could impress the

[34] The text has been edited in 1900 both by Wendland, who also gives a translation in Kautzsch, *Apokryphen u. Pseudepigraphen*, II, p. 1 ff.; and by Thackeray in an appendix to Swete's *Introd. to the O. T. in Greek*, with a translation in the Jew. Quart. Rev. 15., p. 337 ff. A translation with introduction and commentary is also given by H. T. Andrews in R. H. Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the O. T.*, II, pp. 94–122.

[35] Siegfried, *Hastings B. D.*, iv, 928, however, regards the author as moved by a definite polemical aim in opposition to the Book of Ecclesiastes, in which he finds opinions partly Stoic, partly Epicurean, exactly corresponding to those opposed in Wisdom, 1, 10–2, 20.

mind of the common man, awaken his conscience, and stir up his soul with fear and with longing and hope for salvation. Since this Jewish propaganda sought to win the whole world to the perfect wisdom and to the supreme blessings of Israel, it was careful to put no insuperable obstacle in the way of those whom it sought to teach the fear of the Lord, cp. Friedländer, *op. cit.*, p. 216 f. It seemed good to lay upon the heathen approaching Judaism, no more than these three necessary things: first, belief in Jewish monotheism, which involved renunciation of idolatry and all its associations; second, a moral walk in piety towards God, in fulfillment of brotherly duty to man, and in personal uprightness and purity, in accordance with the familiar passage in Micah 6, 8, concerning 'what is good': what doth the Lord require of thee but to do justly, and to love kindness, and to walk humbly with thy God; third, the belief in a world judgment when God will requite to every man according to his deeds, and will admit the righteous into the messianic kingdom promised in Israel's Scriptures.

The system of Jewish mission teaching is based as regards its monotheism upon the familiar Old Testament references to the vanity of heathen idolatry; and it also appeals to and appropriates the polemic in the later Greek popular philosophy against polytheism.[36] Its ethical teaching rests on the precepts of the Old Testament and on various forms of moral catechetical instruction by Palestinian Jewish teachers, such as Jewish forms of the Two Ways; and again, it is supported and enforced by appeal to the Greek unwritten law. Its remaining eschatological feature is founded alone on the Jewish messianic hope of the prophets and apocalyptists; and it was the means employed to rouse the dormant sense of sin and to stimulate the heathen world's awaking consciousness of a need of redemption.

This constant type can be traced in all the remains of Alexandrian propaganda literature from the Jewish sections of the Sibyllines on through the Wisdom of Solomon to Phokylides and Philo, and with equal definiteness in the writings of the Palestinian Josephus in the first Christian century. Reuss's summary de-

[36] See the summary in P. Wendland, *Die Urchristlichen Literaturformen*, p. 325 f., and the references and fuller discussion in Geffcken's commentary, cited earlier, on the Apologies of Aristides and Athenagoras.

scription of the Sibylline Oracles,[37] which is practically adopted by Schürer, *H. J. P.*, § 33, vii, 1, characterizes the dominant features of the whole Hellenistic propaganda: 'the aim and task of the Sibyllines was the advocacy of monotheism and criticism of idolatry; an energetic denunciation of the corruption of the pagan world; and finally the proclamation of the last Judgment; and in connection with all this, the glorification of Israel.' This moreover has tended to fix the type and range of Christian apologia to the heathen in the second century and later. It is addressed to them as præparatio evangelica leading to the definite defense of the Gospel in the demonstratio evangelica.

We are therefore prepared to find that it has been adopted by Paul, as may be concluded from the summary of Christian propaganda to the heathen, which he has given in the first two chapters of Romans. It is based like the Wisdom of Solomon, with which the Apostle is familiar,[38] on the universal revelation of God's existence, eternal power and wisdom in his creation, which calls for the true worship of adoration of his manifested perfection, and for the grateful worship of recognition of him as the true source of all blessings, 1, 18–21. Upon this section concerning monotheism follows, as in Jewish apologetic, his denunciation of the heathen sin of idolatry; of the resulting rejection of duty to God and man; and of their progressing moral degeneracy, 1, 22–32. For such sins listed in this section concerning morality, there will come a day of wrath and righteous judgment upon every soul that worketh evil, in spite of the universal subjective revelation of duty written in the heart; while on that day God will give life eternal to those who through patience seek the supreme moral ideals of glory, honor and immortality, 2, 1–16.[39]

At this point we are at the parting of the ways between the

[37] Quoted by Friedländer from *Nouv. Revue de Théologie*, vii, 1861, p. 198.

[38] Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*, 52: "At some time in his life St. Paul must have bestowed upon the Book of Wisdom a considerable amount of study." The fullest treatment is by E. Grafe, *Das Verhältniss d. paulin. Schriften zur Sap. Solomonis*, in Theol. Abhandlungen f. C. von Weizsäcker, 253.

[39] This threefold structure, the doctrine of God, the teaching of the Two Ways, the eschatological teaching, has already been pointed out by A. Seeberg, *Didache d. Jud. u. d. Urchristenheit*, p. 43. He compares, in addition to parallels in Christian literature, a similar structure in Orac. Sibyll., 3, 8–35; 36–45; 46 ff.

Jewish and Christian mission to the Gentiles. Acceptance of this threefold teaching was naturally followed by the demand, what shall I do to be saved in the coming judgment by the One God, on my sin and immorality? The Diaspora Jews who were not Pharisaic, and who themselves were not able to keep the whole ceremonial law, owing to their absence from the Temple and its sacrifices, welcomed the Godfearers to their synagogues, in the hope that they would later follow on to full profession by circumcision and proselyte baptism; and meanwhile assuring them of the divine favor, because of their devotion to Israel's God, Way of life and worship, and to Israel's hope. More definitely, Peter concluded from the vision to the uncircumcised Cornelius, that in every nation he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is acceptable to Him, Acts 10, 35. The full Jewish answer and indeed the answer of the Pharisaic converts to Christianity, was: it is necessary to be circumcised and keep the Law of Moses; and thus be incorporated into Israel and inherit its covenant promises of salvation. But in direct opposition to this answer, Paul who assumes, Rom. 3, 21 ff., that the heathen once convinced of their sins, 1, 18–2, 16, will realize their need of salvation, offers it to them in the Gospel of God's justification of them by His grace; by the redemption which is in Christ Jesus, 3, 24 ff. Such was the Gospel which had won the godfearers and full proselytes in Pisidian Antioch, Acts 13, 38. Yet when on the next Sabbath he turned to the Gentiles, he had himself to take up the task of preparing them for the Gospel of salvation, by the method of the Jewish missionaries to the heathen.

Irenæus, *Contra Haer*, IV, 24, sees in the accomplishment of this task the ground of Paul's assertion that he labored more abundantly than the Apostles to the Jews; and points to the fact that to secure a basis for his Christian doctrine, Paul had to instruct the Gentiles ignorant of the Scriptures, in a certain foreign erudition: to depart from superstition of idols and to worship one God the Creator, whose Son was made a man among men, died, conquered the enemy of the man and reformed the human race; had to teach them that adultery, fornication, theft, fraud and whatsoever things were done to our neighbor's prejudice were evil and detested by God. In addition, they were destructive to those who engaged in them; while immortality, release from

suffering and life in the kingdom of heaven was offered to those who believe in Christ. The three subjects of the Diaspora mission preaching, which appear in this arrangement of the contents of Irenæus' chapter, would be all the more familiar to Paul if before his conversion he had himself engaged in such Jewish mission work, as Ramsay, Axenfeld, p. 44, and Weinel, *St. Paul*, 154, have suggested: If so, it must have been in the Pharisaic method condemned by Christ in Mtw. 23, 15: woe unto you scribes, pharisees, hypocrites! For ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte, and when he is become so, ye make him twofold more the child of hell than yourselves. The difficulty in the exposition of this statement is not merely the contrast between 'the one proselyte' and the great harvest of Jewish conversions of which the Greek and Latin authors complain; and not alone in the probable fact that the Pharisaic party was averse to the propaganda of the Hellenistic Jews; but chiefly in Christ's apparent condemnation of the zeal of the Jews in converting heathen from their idolatry and immorality, and thus preparing for the spread of the Gospel throughout the Empire in the first Christian generation.[40] But these difficulties disappear as we recognize that he is not referring to Jewish ministry in the Gentile world, cp. Tobit's Prayer, 13, 3.4.6, but to the mission of Palestinian Pharisees in the Dispersion synagogues 'to bring half-judaized Gentiles individually to complete submission to the whole Law and especially to acceptance of circumcision.' [41]

Turning now to the history in Acts of Paul the Christian Apostle to the heathen, we find there few detailed records of his method of converting them. Church after Church is founded among the Gentiles, but in no case have we an account of the preaching which won them to belief. Luke's readers, who were the converts in those churches, already knew 'what manner of entering in the Apostle had unto them and how they had turned from idols to serve a living and true God, and to wait for His Son from heaven

[40] Axenfeld, p. 42: 'Secular historians, *e. g.* Mommsen and Ed. Meyer have employed this word of the Lord as reliable historical report; Christian theologians have raised doubts concerning it or have weakened it; Jewish scholars have from ancient times vehemently contested it.'

[41] Axenfeld, p. 43, who illustrates the two methods of Jewish propaganda from the narrative of Prince Izates' conversion in Josephus, Antt. xx, 2.

whom He raised from the dead, even Jesus who delivereth us from the wrath to come.' I Thess. 1, 9 f. To them Luke in Acts has given a summary of the Oral Gospel to the Jews, with its lines of witness that Jesus is Christ and Lord; but in only three passages has he outlined the preparatory preaching upon which this defense and appeal of the Gospel was based: in the addresses at Lystra and Athens, and in the reference to Paul's conference with Felix; and in all three cases the preaching was unsuccessful. The occasion of its record in Lystra seems to have been incidental to his narrative of the singular experience of Paul being first mistaken to be a God, and then stoned; in Cæsarea, incidental to the narrative of his relations with the procurator; but in the address at Athens, he seems to have selected the striking surroundings of the intellectual and artistic capital of the Gentile world as the fitting scene to record the outlines of the Apostle's general method of approach to the thought and moral life of heathenism. In addition, however, to these three accounts in Acts, the Pauline epistles abound in references to the heathens' acceptance of the Gospel, from which can be recognized the essential features of its initial presentation to them.

The first record of Paul's preaching to Gentiles is his address to Sergius Paulus, Acts 13, 7 ff. Since we have no report of it, though as in the case of Felix, 24, 24, the Proconsul 'sought to hear the word of God,' no decision can be reached as to its contents. It did not, however, effect his conversion. His 'belief,' vs. 12, was not faith in Christ, since no reference is made to his baptism; but was belief in the Didache of the Lord, as preached by Paul in the power of the Spirit.[42]

[42] Wendt on the contrary understands Luke to assert his conversion. Knowling though undefinite is favorable, as is also V. Bartlett. Rackham agrees with the majority of critics in not regarding Sergius as a convert. The five passages in Acts usually quoted to show that 'believed' implies baptism, are imbedded in contexts which point to faith as full acceptance of the Gospel. It may also be noted that Elymas' opposition is not the usual outspoken blasphemy of orthodox Jews against Paul's arguments for the messiahship of Jesus, Acts 13, 45; 18, 6, but is full of 'wile and cunning trickery; is enmity to all righteousness and is a perversion of the right ways of the Lord, *i. e.*, is not attack on the specific Christian redemptive facts and doctrines. Such an unusual description may possibly refer to an opposition to Paul's introductory exposition of the Jewish apologetic, which astonished Sergius as later it terrified Felix. Since the false prophet is described in terms very similar

At Lystra the miracle of the healing of the lame man was conditioned by his faith that the Apostles were ministrants of the power of the One God in the Christ whom they preached, 14, 9.7. The populace, without that faith, see in the miracle a proof of their superstitions. It was viewed as a confirmation of their polytheism and led to a proposal of idolatrous worship. Hence the preaching here is directed to that one heathen error; using the familiar Jewish propaganda arguments against heathen gods, which are vanities, and in favor of belief in the one living God whose existence, is witnessed in the universe He created, and who therefore claims their sole worship; and whose beneficent providence as ruler of nature has blessed their labors and supported their life, and therefore calls for their grateful obedience. The extremely condensed allusion to the fact, vs. 16, that God had hitherto permitted the nations to walk in their own ways, might suggest in connection with Acts 17, 30 and Rom. 3, 25.26, a reference to the heathen sins of idolatry and immorality; but that this and the remaining topics of Jewish and Christian preaching were not developed, is accounted for by the consideration that the emergency demanded emphasis on the subject of monotheism. And so little impression did it produce that even at its close, he could scarcely restrain them from going on with the sacrifices. There would be slight prospect of the attention of a crowd in such a mood, to further topics of the mission preaching.

In Philippi while the heathen mob can recognize Paul and Silas as Jewish missionaries preaching the usual apologetic and polemic, 16, 20 f., we can only conjecturally recognize in Luke's narrative a few more or less probable indications of its range of contents. The slave girl has learned from their preaching that they are servants of θεὸς ὕψιστος, the one supreme God, whose name was common to Jew and Greek. Her owners may possibly be distorting their preaching of the moral rules of the Jewish catechesis by suggesting that it includes Jewish customs, *e. g.*, circumcision and food regulations, contrary to Roman use. More clearly their slave's reference to the 'way of salvation' and the jailer's cry 'what shall I do to be saved,' points to the Jewish

to those applied to the Jewish false teachers in the Epistles, his opposition to 'the Didache of the Lord' could be based on the same false philosophy as underlay their perversion of it.

preaching of a world judgment and to the Christian preaching of salvation in that day through Christ the Redeemer and Judge. It was, however, only because the jailer accepted the warning of a judgment for human sin, by the One God, that Paul could proceed to preach to him: Believe on the Lord Jesus and thou shalt be saved.

It is at Athens appropriately that in the Areopagus address we have the most definite indications of the method, range and aim of the preparatory preaching, and an unusually full outline of the first of its topics.[43] Knowling's remark, *Acts*, p. 379, that 'the speech contains so little that is distinctively Christian' is a needed reminder that the address is not, as is often assumed, a complete model of the Apostle's missionary preaching. Harnack, *Miss. and Expans.*, I, 382 f., in connection with the carefully qualified statement, 'in that model of a mission address to educated people which is preserved in chap. 17, the Pauline manner of missionary preaching is perfectly distinct, in spite of what seems to be one vital difference,' gives what is undoubtedly the outline of the missionary preaching. But in order to construct that outline from this address, he has to insert into it the distinctively Christian features; although Luke records the refusal to listen further, upon hearing the assertion of the resurrection of Jesus, which would have introduced the specifically Christian

[43] The most recent argument in favor of the redaction theory of the authorship of Acts, is urged by Edward Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, 1913. He assigns the composition of the Athens address to a writer using the traditions of the life of Apollonius of Tyana recorded by his follower Damis the Assyrian in the beginning of the second century, and utilized by Philostratus in his life of Apollonius, written c. 237 A. D. This theory has been accepted by Wendt and Preuschen in the prefaces to their commentaries on Acts, and by Reitzenstein, *N. Jahrb. f. Klass. Alterthum*, 1913, p. 393. It is rejected by Harnack, *Texte und Unters*, 1913, Bd. 39, p. 1 ff., both because of the positive arguments for Lukan authorship based on language, style and contents; and also because no proof can be produced from the statements of Philostratus to show that the reference to altars of the unknown gods was taken from Damis; that Apollonius was ever concerned with such Athenian altars; that he ever made an address starting from a reference to an altar inscription or to altars of unknown gods. The theory has also been rejected by Burkitt, *Jnl. Theolog. Studies*, 1914, p. 455, by Lagrange, *Revue Biblique*, July, 1914, and by Birt, *Rhein. Mus. f. Philog.*, 1914, Bd. 69, p 342.

message.[44] This had indeed already been delivered in Athens, 17, 17 f., not only to Jews and godfearers in the synagogue, but also to Gentiles in the Agora. But as throughout Acts, Luke has not here recorded the contents of this Gospel preaching to the heathen, which was to realize the aims set before the Apostle to the Gentiles at his conversion, Acts 26, 18–20. Harnack while emphasizing that this is true of Acts apart from the address at Athens,[45] insists, however, that Luke intends this address to be his report of Paul's Gentile preaching. This claim rests upon his assumption that such a report was absolutely necessary in view of the literary structure of Acts, which he thinks calls for an address to Jews, ch. 13, to heathen, ch. 17, and to assembled Christians, ch. 20; and on the further assumption that the aim of Acts, since it is a continuation of the Gospel, must be to report 'concerning all things which the Apostles began to do and to teach.' A report of the Gentile preaching would obviously be necessary on this last assumption. But it must be rejected not only as being a misconception of the relation of the Gospel and Acts, but as being inconsistent, especially with regard to Apostolic teaching, with the actual character and contents of Acts. The other assumption connected with the literary structure, also calls for such modifications as would counteract its support of Harnack's *a priori* theory of the absolute necessity of a distinct report of Gospel preaching to the Gentiles.

Luke's interest, on the other hand, is in this chapter, in Paul's contact with heathen philosophers, who by wisdom knew not God; and who though asking to know what this new teaching is and

[44] J. Weiss, *Urchristm*, p. 184: 'The Areopagus address however has surely delineated only one side of the preaching of Paul, when it presents him as employing the philosophical methods of the hellenistic enlightenment and appealing to the reason of the hearers. And it is, as it seems to me, a skillful feature of the recital that the attention and assent of the hearers is immediately at an end, when he begins to announce the specific content of the Gospel; the approaching world-judgment and the risen Christ.'

[45] *Texte u. Unters*, Bd. 39, p. 2: 'If Acts 17, 21 ff. be removed, we ascertain from the whole Book only quite insufficiently, what kind of a teaching Paul brought to the Gentiles. The aim of the Book to report περὶ πάντων ὧν ἤρξαντο οἱ ἀπόστολοι ποιεῖν τε καὶ διδάσκειν, would remain unrealized as concerns the chief Apostle, in regard to the most important point, that of teaching.'

means, yet like doubting Pilate asking 'what is truth,' would not stay to listen to the foolishness of the preaching of the cross and resurrection, as revealing the power and wisdom of God. The method of approach to them is, as in all Paul's preaching to Gentiles, cp. Acts 19, 37, respectful and conciliatory throughout. At the outset they are addressed as 'exceedingly Godfearing.' The structure of the address reveals that it is based on the usual type of Jewish and Christian propaganda preaching: monotheism, vss. 23–29; the Way of righteousness and of sin, calling for repentance, vs. 30; and the messianic world-judgment, vs. 31. This disparity in the length of the record of the discussion of the three subjects, points to the special interest in the true doctrine of God as the basis of approach to all the rest of his Gospel preaching, which is essentially related to the existence, moral rule and eternal redeeming purpose of a personal God.[46] The occasion of the address, moreover, naturally led to this emphasis on the subject of monotheism: the preacher's spirit had been provoked within him, as he beheld the city full of idols; and his hearers' interest in him had been evoked by his seeming to be a setter forth of strange gods.

The mode of approach to them in declaring unto them his doctrine of God, is his appropriation of the polemic common to the later Greek philosophy and Jewish propaganda, against polytheism and idolatry; and in advance upon this his reference to the doctrine of Agnostos theos, cp. Norden, 55–124, both to present his Jewish and Christian monotheism as a divine self-revelation, and also the heathen ignorance shown in their worship and sin, ἄγνοια, and calling for repentance. The parallels in Jewish and Christian literature and in Greek philosophy, especially in Stoicism, are noted in the commentaries from Wettstein's collections, in Geffcken's work already cited and most fully in Norden, *op. cit.*, p. 13 ff. Harnack, *op. cit.*, p. 23, however, enters a caveat against

[46] Lightfoot, *Philippians*, 317. The fundamental and invincible error of Stoic philosophy was its theological creed; its theology was, as dogmatically expounded by its ablest teachers, nothing better than a pantheistic materialism. And with the belief in a Personal Being, the sense of sin also will stand or fall, p. 319. It was a matter of indifference to the Stoic whether he doubted or believed or denied the immortality of man; for the doctrine was wholly external to his creed, and nothing could be gained or lost by the decision, p. 322 f.

exploiting these parallels in the interest of the theory of a second-century redactor who here directly borrows his material from the literature of Jewish polemic.[47]

In connection with these parallels it is also to be recalled that in the original full discourse, of which we have only a summary of extreme brevity, there must have been developments of the essential differences between Christian and Stoic theology, such as are noted in the passages that have been quoted from Lightfoot. Suggestions of the lines of such development are offered in the application of the Apostle's declaration of God to sin and world-judgment in vss. 30.31. While the Stoic doctrine of God makes temple worship and idolatry merely unreasonable, Paul's doctrine of God the creator has made it a sinful ignorance which calls for repentance, vs. 30. And the whole trend of the statements, vs. 26 ff., concerning divine providence, the unity of mankind under one moral government and in order to realize the eternal purpose of communion with God, must have been developed along supplementary lines in definite contrasts to Stoic *πρόνοια*, so Knowling and Blass, *in loco*, and self-sufficiency 'which stood in no need of atonement and feared no judgment to come,' Knowling; since it led up, vs. 31, to the Apostle's warning of a day of judgment in righteousness.

On this basis he is prepared to offer to them his Gospel: it will be the message of salvation in this judgment; and a present gift of the Spirit will be the pledge of that future consummation of salvation. The Apostle's transition from Jewish to definite Christian apologia is in the declaration that the Judge is the Man proved so divinely appointed by his resurrection from the dead. At this point he would be in a position here in Athens as in all Gentile evangelization to present the constant type of Christian apologia, already recorded by Luke as addressed to Jewish hearers with the necessary differences of emphasis on special features of the witness; cp. Acts 26, 20. And following this witness that Jesus is Christ and Lord, would be given the Paraklesis not to neglect so great salva-

[47] 'In view of the force and compactness of the address, one must also be very skeptical towards the hypothesis of direct borrowings of particular statements in it, from determinate sources. He who could compose this address did not delve among mosaic-scraps, but drew out of an abundance and out of long familiarity with all the thoughts which he has here set forth.'

tion, but to accept it with faith and repentance to be professed in baptism after full instruction in the preparatory catechesis.

But we know the Athenian mockery of the Resurrection and Paul's conviction of the uselessness of further attempts at evangelization of a salvation in a general resurrection, so long as this was to them not only incredible but absurd.

A final instance of the ineffectiveness of the Gospel apologia in winning a heathen who does not accept the preparatory Jewish apologetic, is Paul's experience with Felix, Acts 24.24 ff. J. Weiss, *Urchrstm.*, p. 60, finds in vs. 25 a reason for believing that Acts was not written until c. 100 A. D. He claims that an author who can define the content of Paul's preaching 'concerning the faith in Christ Jesus,' vs. 24, to be a reasoning concerning righteousness and self-control and the judgment to come, can have little connection with primitive Christianity, and betrays that he belongs to the class of second Christian century apologists. It would, however, be truer in this verse, to find its source in the apologists of the second pre-Christian century.

But apart from the consideration that Acts elsewhere contains numerous adequate summaries of the essential Gospel preaching of the Apostle, this reasoning with Felix is not intended as a description of Paul's complete presentation of the Gospel. Felix was a heathen. Having married the Jewess Drusilla, though refusing unlike her first husband Azizus, King of Emesa, to be circumcised, he was doubtless familiar with the Jewish propaganda teachings; and even knew accurately τὰ περὶ τῆς Ὁδοῦ, vs. 22. We may further observe that in his previous public defense before Felix, Paul had described his Christian faith in the only category the heathen procurator could understand: that of its relation to the three fundamental topics of Jewish propaganda. The Christian Way, vs. 14, which the Jew proscribes as a 'heresy,' *i. e.* a teaching distinct from the Jewish religion, is in fact true Judaism. For in accordance with this Christian Way, first he worships Israel's God and believes fully in the Old Testament revelation. Next he shares Israel's hope of a general resurrection, with its accompanying awards in a judgment. Finally in view of that judgment, he exercises himself to have a conscience void of offense, *i. e.*, of sins against God and man, the special topic of the Two Ways. Therefore the real difference between him and the Jews is

concerning the means of salvation in the general resurrection for judgment. Paul stands before Felix because of his preaching of Christ's resurrection as Festus too learns later, and as Agrippa learns in full detail; and definitely for preaching that because He is risen, He is the sole source of salvation for Jew and heathen, 26, 18.

In the private conference with this heathen concerning the faith in Christ Jesus, Paul again begins with the fundamental topics of the religion of Israel. The topic concerning monotheism that was developed at Lystra and at Athens is here omitted. And therefore Felix having a Jewish wife who is expressly mentioned as being present, and having also a position which would imply familiarity with contemporary Græco-Roman philosophic culture, may not unreasonably be presumed to be a nominal monotheist. As Paul on Mars' Hill had proceeded from monotheism to repentance for sin, so Felix as preparatory to an understanding of redemption by faith in Christ, must be brought to a penitent conviction of his need of righteousness and self-control demanded in the Two Ways. And likewise as at Athens the Apostle advanced to the day appointed in which God will judge the world in righteousness, so here he brings to Felix the terrifying warning of the judgment to come. Here too as at Athens he is dismissed at this point of transition to the defense and confirmation of the faith in Christ. The Gospel of salvation from judgment by this faith in Jesus, had therefore not obtained a hearing either in Cæsarea's Palace or on the Hill of Mars.[48]

[48] A similar question has been raised concerning the description of the gospel in Rev. 14, 6 f. Moffatt remarks that the substance of its eternal gospel is not much of a gospel and the prophet does not look for much result, if any. So Simcox: it is pure natural theism; and Swete: it seems to be the reverse of a gospel. Swete's further comments: that αἰώνιον εὐαγγέλιον without the article is not 'The everlasting Gospel,' the Gospel as a whole, similarly Bousset, but rather a Gospel which is a particular aspect of it; that it is an appeal to the conscience of untaught heathendom, cp. its universal destination in 6b, incapable of comprehending any other; that the basis of the appeal is pure theism; that it sums up the claim of the Creator as such upon the allegiance of mankind, and the appeal to Nature can go no further; that like the address at Lystra it contains no reference to the Christian hope, and no 'believe in the Gospel,' Mk. 1, 14, tempers the sternness of the cry; are all suggestions that the final warning to the heathen world by the angel of judgment, is not merely, with Swete and Bousset, 'the Gospel of the Parousia and the consummation which the Parousia will bring,' but is framed

The fact then remains that nowhere in Acts has Luke recorded the details of the presentation of the Gospel to the Gentiles. It is assumed throughout the narrative of the mission work of Paul, to be the same message as is given to Jews in the earlier chapters. The three addresses at Lystra, Athens and Cæsarea are given in compressed summary as a record of the Apostle's preparation of his Gentile hearers for his Gospel of the common salvation. And these indications of his method of preparing for the presentation of the Gospel correspond to and are confirmed by the frequent allusions in the Epistles to former heathen, concerning the initial preaching among them. Whether we consider Paul's summary of his introductory propaganda preaching, or his descriptions of the state of the heathen before and after their conversion, we find that his statements are uniformly framed upon the basis of the preparatory apologia concerning idolatry, the resulting immorality and impending judgment upon it, which would serve to awaken in the heathen a conviction of sin and a hunger for the salvation offered to them in the succeeding witness and call of the Gospel.

We have already recognized this method of approach in Rom. 1, 18 ff.; and may here add that Paul had already given in II Thess. 2, 10–12, the same view of heathenism as receiving not the love of the truth and delivered, cp. Rom. 1, 28, to a working of error to believe the lie, 'opposed to the truth of the Gospel'; as having pleasure in unrighteousness, cp. Rom. 1, 32; and as awaiting Judgment. As the counterpart, the heathen converts of Thessalonica, at Paul's 'entering in unto them,' turned to God from idols, in order to serve the living and true God and to await his Son from heaven, Jesus the deliverer from the wrath to come, 1 Thess. 1, 9 f. In summing up the previous condition of the Gentile readers of his

upon the whole contents of the preaching introductory to the Gospel of salvation at that Parousia. And on comparing the contents of his gospel with Paul's summary of his preaching to heathen in Rom. 1, 18 ff., we find the declaration to God as creator in Rev. 14, 7, developed in Rom. 1, 19 f.; the call to fear God, to give him glory, to worship him, closely paralleled even in wording in vss. 21–25; the need of repentance in view of the hour of his judgment, summarizing Rom. 1, 26–2, 16. And the description of the angelic warning to the heathen of the hour of judgment and of their need of repentance and of conversion to God, as αἰώνιον εὐαγγέλιον, is repeated in Paul's description 2, 16 of the divine judgment as being 'according to my Gospel by Jesus Christ.'

encyclical to the Ephesians, he uses the same three fold description of it, which would furnish the occasion for the three fold introductory apologia of the mission preaching. For in Eph. 4, 17 ff., the readers were formerly alienated from the life of God, and this as in Rom. 1, 18 ff. and in Acts 17, on account of their ἄγνοια due to the vanity of their νοῦς, the darkening of their διάνοια and the hardening of their καρδία; consequently in the sphere of morals they had given themselves over to lasciviousness to work all uncleanness with greediness, vs. 19; whence cometh the wrath of God, 5, 6 and pll. Col. 3, 6. The same description underlies the brief parallel summary in Col. 1, 21; and it reappears in I Pet. 4, 3–5, addressed to Gentile converts who formerly walked, 1, 14, in their ἄγνοια, in idolatries contrary to the eternal principles of right, godless, ἀθέμιτοι; in lasciviousness and other vices; for which sins the Gentiles will give account to Him who is ready to judge quick and dead.

And when, further, the Apostle so frequently recalls his converts' response to his initial preaching and to his own zeal for the development of their new life, it is always in terms directly corresponding to the three fundamental subjects of his original approach to them. The converts, Eph. 4, 22, have been renewed in the spirit of their mind from their previous alienation from God in ἄγνοια; in contrast to their former immorality, they have put on the new man created in righteous and holiness of truth; are no longer facing the wrath of God, 5, 6, but have inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and God, vs. 5. He prays for the growth of the Colossians in epignosis of God and of his will; for their worthy moral walk; for their strengthening in patient endurance, inspired by grateful joy for admission to the inheritance of the saints in light, 1, 9 ff. In his latest summaries of the Gospel, Titus 2, 11 ff. and 3, 3 ff., the basis is again the Epiphany of the grace, kindness and love of God our Saviour towards man, training us to renounce ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly, righteously and godly; and inspiring us to such life by the blessed hope and appearing of the glory of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ.

The fact that these sections in Titus are paralleled and summed up in the opening verse as faith, godliness and hope; that the threefold structure in Col. 1, 9 ff. is summed up in 1, 4 as faith, love and hope; that the description, Eph. 4, 17 ff., is related to faith, love and

hope in 1, 15.18; and, to add but one more instance, that the threefold characterization of the Thessalonians' conversion, 1, 9.10, has already been given in 1, 3 as a life of faith, love and hope, strongly points to the origin of this triad as related to the response of faith by the heathen converts in the revelation of God in Christ, to their obedience to the call to a new moral life of love fulfilling all law, and to their appropriation by hope of the consummated salvation at the coming of Christ in glory. But they are obviously distinctively Christian terms related to the definite Gospel preaching and instruction and to professions at baptism.

This combined relation to the preparatory apologia and to the perfected Christian life, cp. I Cor. 13, 13, leads us therefore to recognize, as we can only hope to do from the allusions to evangelization in the Epistles, that the propaganda apologetic was not a bare repetition of Jewish themes, but that it was throughout vivified with the Christian revelation, moral ideals and inspiring and invigorating hope. We have already observed that even the compressed outline of the Areopagus address pointed to a definite Christian development of its topics. In the general Gentile mission preaching, the ignorance concerning the true God would certainly call for the presentation of the 'light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ, who is the image of God,' II Cor. 4, 4–8. And this would involve some portraiture of the life, message and redeeming work of the Christ, tending of itself to effect the realization of his own revelations of the divine purpose: 'It may be they will reverence my Son,' Mk. 12, 6; Lk. 20, 13. Surely too the Jewish Didache of the Two Ways of life and death, light and darkness, with its vice lists and precepts of virtues, needed and received from the preaching of Christ as the moral ideal and from his own perfect fulfillment of the divine will and law, the Christian revelation that love is the fulfillment of all law; and more, the revelation of the moral dynamic in the love of Christ constraining us to walk in love even as he loved us and gave himself up for us, Eph. 5, 2. And the reiteration of the Jewish proclamation of divine judgment had not only to be enforced by awaking personal conviction of sinfulness, but also to be supplemented by the Gospel of redemption by Christ, himself the Judge, with its hope of inheritance in the kingdom of his glory. A hope assured by the promise of the

present gift of his Spirit as a pledge and earnest of the perfected salvation.

The Gentiles' response of faith to this call to salvation, would necessarily demand most certain proofs of the validity of the apostolic witness to Jesus as Christ and Lord in whom is the absolute revelation of God and the sole redemption of humanity. All objections to that witness would be urged among the Gentiles by Jews who spoke evil of that Way; by philosophers who mocked at the Cross and Resurrection; by adherents of the mystery religions, who themselves offered revelation and redemption in their cults. Heathen converts were, besides, called upon to make in some ways greater sacrifices than the Jews. The latter could continue to share in the synagogue and Temple services; while the Gentile Christians would be called upon to abandon the heathen temple worship, although it was intertwined with their family life, commercial relations and civic fellowship. In view of such objections and sacrifices, and of the revolution which the Christian faith demanded of his whole world-view, of his moral consciousness, habits and motives: literally to put off the whole old man and fixed character, we realize how complete and compelling must have been the defense of the Gospel call and witness that proved successful in effecting such a transformation. The preaching that evoked this new life of faith could not have been in mere persuasive words of wisdom but only in demonstration of the Spirit and in power.

In the absence in the New Testament of any reiteration of this 'demonstration of the Spirit' to the Gentile readers who had been converted by it, we can only theorize as to the details of the method. The several lines of witness to the Gospel would without question not only receive differing emphases, but would also necessarily be presented in an order different from that followed in the apologia delivered in the synagogue. There, as we could expect and as is recorded, the approach was from the Old Testament messianic hope to its fulfillment in Jesus; the obstacle of the cross being removed both by means of the witness of prophecy and by the Gospel of the resurrection resting not only on the witness of the Old Testament and on the Apostles' testimony, but also on the witness of their personal experience of the gift of the Spirit from the risen Christ.

But among the Gentiles, as we should anticipate and as Paul recalls in the four Epistles to churches he himself had founded, this witness of the personal spiritual experience of the preachers is in the forefront. The evangelists of Thessalonica describe their preaching there as having been not in word only but also in power and in the Holy Spirit and in much full assurance, πληροφορία, I Thess. 1, 5. It is, of course, not here meant that they began with an assertion of their spiritual gifts, but that their message was throughout a manifestation of the Spirit in their lives and ministry. It was not 'the threshed out arguments of the age of the Greek enlightenment that could convert their hearers. So important as it was that an intellectual framework for the proof of monotheism was already provided, yet the impelling and determining force must have been supplied by convinced personalities.' J. Weiss, *Urchristm.*, p. 184 f. In the Apostles' declaration of the revelation of the true and living God in the person and work of Jesus Christ, it was their own full assurance of its certainty, their evident personal devotion to its truth, their own clear consciousness of direct communion with the divine life, that offered a most impressive demonstration of the Gospel they preached.[49] Their own possession of the mind and Spirit of the Christ, manifest in their walk in love, cp. I Thess. 2, 10, and in their own realization of the ideals of piety revealed both in the Old Testament and in the teachings and life of their Master, was likewise a living demonstration of the incomparable moral worth and transforming power of their Gospel. And the call to accept Christ's salvation and to enter into the new life of the Spirit came from them with the persuasiveness and assurance of their own peace, union with God and exulting hope of glory. This manifestation of the Spirit and of power in their personal experience accompanied and confirmed each of the essential forms of their witness; and it was itself the definite confirmation of their witness to the Gospel of Christ risen as the source of their new life of the Spirit's indwelling and of their gifts of spiritual power.

Yet even this equipment of the preachers with the Spirit, cp. Mtw. 10, 19 f.; Acts 1, 8, was not of itself sufficient to effect their hearers' conviction. Not only might the Tongues of Pentecost

[49] Cp. Phillips Brooks, *Lectures on Preaching*, Truth and personality, p. 5 ff.

and of the Corinthian Church, I Cor. 14, 22, produce merely the impression of intoxication or madness, but even the exalted apologias of Paul in the great hours on the Areopagus and in the palace of Cæsarea evoked only the similar mocking, διαχλευάζειν of Athenian philosophers and the similar charge of 'madness' by the Roman Procurator, Acts 26, 24. There was therefore needed in addition to the demonstration of the Spirit in the witness of the preachers, an accompanying ministry of the Spirit in the personality of the hearers, in order that they might accept the word of the message not as 'the word of men but as it is in truth the word of God which is made operative in them that believe.' I Thess. 2, 13. The first result of this operation of the Spirit is expressed in the description, Acts 2, 36, of the hearers of Peter's apologia being 'pricked at the heart.' It is not yet definitely conversion, repentance and certitude of faith, as is evident both in their inquiry 'what shall we do' and in the contents of the reply to it; cp. also Acts 16, 30 ff. It is, however, a spiritually effected recognition of the truth of the witness; an opening of the eyes, 26, 18, and of the heart 'to attend' to the things spoken, 16, 14; 8, 6. Paul once recalls, I Cor. 14, 23 ff., the vivid picture of a typical instance of this initial response to the Spirit's ministry in the prophets of Corinth: the hearer 'is convicted by all, he is judged by all, the secrets of his heart are made manifest; and so he will fall down on his face and worship God, declaring that God is among you indeed.'

The apologia of the Gospel to Jew and Gentile has thus by the ministry of the Spirit in evangelist and hearer effected its definite purpose. It is not only to teach and to arouse conviction, but is to be the means to prepare the way for the supernatural action of God, J. Weiss, *op. cit.*, p. 187. That divine activity begun in the mission preaching and issuing at length in full assurance of faith, will next be exercised in connection with the ministry of catechesis, in preparation of the converts for their profession of faith in baptism.

CHAPTER V

ACCEPTANCE OF THE GOSPEL AND STANDING STEADFAST IN THE FAITH

1. THE PRIMITIVE CATECHESIS

Indications of an instruction preparatory to baptism, are of frequent occurrence in the New Testament; yet its prevalence is ordinarily recognized in works on primitive Christianity only by undeveloped allusions to it, as by Weizsäcker, *Apos. Age*, II, 262.303 f. and V. Bartlet, *Apos. Age*, 354 ff. And in special treatises its character and possible contents have not, until recently, been investigated in detail. The interest of scholars has ordinarily been devoted rather to the catechesis of the early Church, beginning with the direct references to it near the close of the second century, and in the developed institution of the catechumenate. In some cases, moreover, catechesis in the New Testament has been confused with instruction of any character. Thus G. Bareille, in Dict. de Théologie Catholique, s. v. Catéchese, offers St. Peter's Pentecost sermon and especially the portion of it which is apologia, as the first record of New Testament catechesis; and further includes the second century Apologies as examples of catechesis.

Its distinct character has, however, been briefly indicated by Holtzmann in his essay, Die Katechese der alten Kirche,[1] which is concerned principally with the later period. But in accordance with this brief summary of the New Testament data, he recognizes, p. 65, that catechesis would be just as old as Christianity itself. The children begotten through the preaching of the Gospel, and the babes in Christ must be fed with milk, I Cor. 3, 16; Hbws. 5, 13. There is further the distinction between the initial elementary teaching and the instruction of the more advanced Christians, Hbws. 5, 22–6, 2; and also between the catechists and catechumens of the relatively young churches of Galatia, Gal. 6, 6, and the teaching functions in the churches of the Pastoral Epistles, with a larger development. While to Holtzmann, p. 63 f., Mtw. 28, 19,

[1] *Theolog. Abhandlungen C. von Weizsäcker gewidmet*, 1892, p. 59 ff.

"is not a word of the Lord in strict historical sense, yet in it is made known the fact that Christian baptism appeared from the first as organically connected with an instruction which qualified for its reception." In this passage he finds the subject of in-instruction to be, not the Trinity, but "the complex or Christian moral commands," which in the mind of the First Evangelist refers above all to the new law of the Sermon on the Mount. In Acts 8, 35; 18, 26, he finds a summary instruction preceding baptism, in reference to the chief points of faith.

The publication of the Didache in 1883, and its very general assignment to a date in the early second century, inevitably awakened direct interest in the catechetical instruction of the Apostolic Age. Notably an attempt has been made by Alfred Seeberg to reconstruct its form and some of its contents, in a series of monographs.[2] Our present interest in the fact of such definite preparatory instruction, however it may be reconstructed, is its relation both to the defense of the faith awakened in the propaganda preaching and also to the apologetic element in the Epistles and Gospels.

That there was need for it may be concluded from the fact that the propaganda preaching, although it was fuller and more developed than the brief summaries of our records, could not meet with sufficient definiteness the various intellectual and spiritual needs of the individual hearers in the crowds to which it was ordinarily addressed. The Church too would need to be assured of the convert's full understanding of his baptismal profession of penitence and faith, and of his preparation to enter into the life, worship and work of the Christian Brotherhood. Such understanding and preparation involves the necessity of the Church's provision of the convert with the appropriate definite initial instruction. These anticipations of the occasion and need of teaching preparatory to baptism are confirmed by the facts of the early converts' developed faith and high plane of Christian knowledge and morality, which are recognizable in the Acts and Epistles. Their stage of Christian life and thought postulates a completer and more definite instruction than the initial gospel preaching.

[2] Der Katechismus der Urchristenheit, 1903; Das Evangelium Christi, 1905; Die beiden Wegen und das Aposteldekret, 1906; Die Didache des Judenthums und der Urchristenheit, 1908.

No doubt such instruction was constantly given in the Church services, where both the words of the Lord Jesus, cp. Acts 20, 35; II Peter 3, 2, and also the ways which are in Christ Jesus, I Cor. 4, 17, were called to remembrance and made the basis for doctrinal instruction and prophetic exhortation. But the New Testament data point in addition to the earlier instruction preparing the convert for baptism and for fellowship in this church worship. We should also expect such preparation in the Apostolic Age from the references to it in the second century. The Didache enjoins at 7, 1: "Baptize, having first recited all these things," *i. e.*, Chapters 1 to 6 containing the Two Ways. Justin reports in I Apology 61: Those to be admitted to baptism are 'as many as are persuaded and believe to be true, the things taught and said by us, and who pledge themselves to be able to live in accordance with them." [3] In Chapter 65 the issue of this instruction is worthy moral conduct and guardianship of the things commanded. As Holtzmann observes, p. 65, *op. cit.*, the contents of this instruction are most fittingly constructed from the teachings of Christ, which are recalled in the Apology, Chaps. 14 to 17. It should moreover be noticed that in Justin's summary presentation of the Christian teaching, the moral precepts of Chaps. 14 to 17 are preceded in Chap. 13 by teaching concerning the true God and his Son crucified under Pontius Pilate, and the Prophetic Spirit; and are followed in Chaps. 18 to 20 by teaching concerning topics in eschatology.

In the New Testament Age the references to the instruction of converts before baptism are for the most part in the brief summaries alluding to the beginnings of their Christian life. There are besides seven instances in six passages of the use of the word *κατηχέω*. In four cases it is used in connection with elementary religious instruction: Rom. 2, 18, the Jews' religious position and knowledge rests on the fact of their fundamental instruction out of the Law, *κατηχούμενος ἐκ τοῦ νόμου*; Acts 18, 25, Apollos, with John's baptism had received elementary instruction in the Way of the Lord, *κατηχημένος τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ κυρίου*, which in vs. 26 had

[3] "Οσοι ἂν πεισθῶσι καὶ πιστεύωσιν ἀληθῆ ταῦτα τὰ ὑφ' ἡμῶν διδασκόμενα καὶ λεγόμενα εἶναι, καὶ βιοῦν οὕτως δύνασθαι ὑπισχνῶνται.

to be expounded to him more accurately; I Cor. 14, 19, the simplest form of speech with the understanding for the purpose of elementary instruction, ἵνα καὶ ἄλλους κατηχήσω, is contrasted with the alleged highest form of speaking with tongues: Gal. 6, 6, the rule that he that is taught in the word, ὁ κατηχούμενος τὸν λόγον, is to communicate unto him that teaches, τῷ κατηχοῦντι, in all good things, is found to follow an exhortation, 5, 13 ff., which puts them in remembrance of Paul's ways which are in Christ.

The instruction alluded to in these passages does not therefore refer as Zahn holds, *Ev. Lukas*, p. 58; Galaterbrief, p. 272, to "all instruction within the congregation (alle innergemeindliche Unterweisung)," but with A. Seeberg, *Kat. d. Urchristenheit* p. 269 f., to an instruction which catechumens received in preparation for baptism. The word which is taught is as in Heb. 6, 1: τὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ χριστοῦ λόγον. The "communication," Gal. 6, 6, in all good things, *i. e.*, material benefits, unto the teacher of spiritual things, is the same rule as in I Cor. 9, 7–14; Rom. 15, 27; and Mtw. 10, 10 f.

The word κατηχέω is found again in Acts 21, 21 and 24 without this technical reference to elementary religious instruction. St. James informs St. Paul on his final visit to Jerusalem, that the Jewish Christians are "taught concerning him," κατηχήθησαν περὶ σοῦ, that he teaches to Jews apostasy from Moses. Zahn insists, *Introd.*, III, 82, that the word means here merely "informed, have heard a report or rumor;" and that it has therefore the same meaning in Luke 1, 4. But the word in itself can here have equally its usual meaning in the New Testament: to teach, to instruct. The choice of it rather than any other of the numerous words for informing, fits the situation and the speaker perfectly. St. James, using this word, warns St. Paul of the deliberate and constant attack upon him by Judaizers and Jews, in the form of this defamatory teaching concerning him. On the same page, vs. 27, Jews of Asia are its teachers. In vs. 28 we have its formulation: This is the man who teacheth the people, etc. Here is more than report and information. It is a settled, deliberately inculcated teaching concerning him, as a method of polemic.

This use of the word by Luke in Acts, does not therefore offer any support for Zahn's denial that Luke 1, 4 refers to the cate-

chetical instruction given to Theophilus. The use of the title "most excellent" has convinced Zahn that Theophilus is still a heathen. The word κατηχήθης cannot therefore mean "been instructed," but only that many of the narratives related in Christian circles had come to his ears and had interested him. But they were so fragmentary and marvelous that an attitude of doubt as to their reliability seemed to be demanded of him. Opposed to this conception is both the general character of the Gospel and the special features of its preface. The book contains too much that has no direct relation to the alleged purpose of convincing Theophilus; and too much that assumes the interest and knowledge of a Christian reader. On the other hand, it lacks several of the lines of apology found in the Acts; although in Zahn's view Theophilus is a Christian when the Acts were sent to him. In the preface, there seems to be no reason for mention to a heathen of earlier Gospel writings. In vs. 1 and 2, "us" would naturally suggest a Christian reader. If Theophilus is still a heathen in doubt, the writer would need to prove the credibility of the eye-witnesses and ministers of the word. But the aim of the Evangelist is not to win a heathen but to establish a Christian in the faith which he professed in baptism after his preparatory instruction in the logoi of which this consisted. Their irrefragable certainty, ἀσφάλεια, will be established upon the words and deeds of the Lord Jesus. Luke 1, 4 refers therefore to a catechesis on several more or less fixed topics, and not as Zahn claims to casual reports of some incidents in Christ's life.

This view is supported by an examination of the relative clause in vs. 4. The usual resolutions of the attraction are:

1. ἀσφάλειαν περὶ τῶν λόγων περὶ ὧν κατηχήθης
2. ἀσφάλειαν περὶ τῶν λόγων οὓς κατηχήθης
3. ἀσφάλειαν τῶν λόγων περὶ ὧν κατηχήθης

That is, 1. 'Certainty concerning the words concerning which thou wast instructed'; or, 2. 'certainty concerning the words wherein thou wast instructed'; or 3. 'certainty of the words concerning which thou wast instructed.' Against the first and second resolutions is the fact that, with Zahn, we should expect 'the certainty' to be defined by 'the words' directly, rather than by a certainty 'concerning the Words.' The first part of the third

resolution is therefore probably correct. But the question of the meaning of the relative clause remains. Zahn assumes that it refers simply to the antecedent 'words,' with the meaning: the certainty of the words concerning which you have heard. Yet as in other New Testament passages *κατηχέω* points to instruction, and since the word is not used with the genitive of things, this view is inadequate.

One other resource remains: to combine the second and third resolutions, by regarding *ὧν* as a case of the frequent assimilation to an omitted antecedent and resolving it as in the second view: *ἀσφάλειαν τῶν λόγων περὶ* [*πάντων* or *Ἰησοῦ*] *οὓς κατηχήθης*. The meaning in this case would be: the certainty of the logoi, the topics entitled 'concerning' such and such matters, in which he had been instructed in the catechesis. In support of this view is Luke's form of expression in Acts 1, 1: *λόγον περὶ πάντων ὧν* Jesus did and taught. And the relative *ὧν* is seen to refer not to *λόγος* as its antecedent, but to *πάντων;* thus corresponding to the resolution here proposed. In a similar summary, Acts 22, 10, we have corresponding to *λόγοι*, *λαληθήσεται περὶ πάντων ὧν τέτακταί σοι ποιῆσαι*. It may also be noticed in Acts 18, 25 that Apollos being himself *κατηχημένος τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ Κυρίου*, was able to speak and teach *τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ*. Further support of this view is to found in the fact that in Acts there are about a score of instances where the topics of initial instruction are referred to under the title '*περὶ*' etc. The same use appears in the Didache: 6, 3; 7, 1; 9, 1. In I Cor. the subjects of their letter and of the Apostle's instructions are six times introduced by the same formula. There seems therefore to be sufficient reason for believing that in the phrase *περὶ ὧν κατηχήθης λόγων*, Luke is making a summary reference to the detailed topics of a preparatory instruction.

Besides the use of this word *κατηχέω* and the references to topics of preparatory instruction, there are moreover frequent summaries alluding to the initial steps in Christian life, which include a reference to an instruction which is distinct from evangelization and from the later teaching in the Church services.[4] In II Thess. 2, 13 f. the reminder of the readers' experiences at conversion, is made the basis of the appeal to 'stand fast and hold the traditions which ye were taught whether by word or by epistle of ours.' That

[4] Cp. Seeberg, Katechismus: pp. 42, 46, 169, 212, 249, etc.

he has here in mind teaching preparatory to entrance upon the Christian life, may be concluded from the teaching in his first Epistle to them. For in I Thess. 4, 1 to 5, 22, he repeats and includes a number of definite topics of this initial instruction.

In Romans 6, 17, the readers' obedience to 'that form or pattern of teaching, *τύπος διδαχῆς*, whereunto they were delivered,' is viewed in the context as beginning with their renunciation of sin and with their emancipation from it; and in the verse itself, it is indicated that the norm of teaching included ethical instruction. Rom. 16, 17 ff., also points to this fundamental moral teaching as the norm they learned, *τὴν διδαχὴν ἣν ὑμεῖς ἐμάθετε*, and which naturally they learned upon their admission to baptism. I Cor. 6, 9 ff. contains a direct reference to baptism, vs. 11, after knowledge gained, vs. 9, concerning the list of sins which exclude from the Kingdom of God, vs. 9, 10. The Colossians, 2, 6, 7, are likewise to walk in Christ as they were taught, *καθὼς ἐδιδάχθητε*, when they accepted the Christ, even Jesus the Lord. The parallel section in Ephesians 4, 17 ff. points also to initial teaching. Antecedent to their regeneration, vs. 23, 24, there was an instruction, vs. 20, which included learning the Christ by hearing His message in the preaching and being taught that He is in truth in Jesus. Robinson, *Ephes.*, p. 190, prefers 'that truth is found in the person of Jesus who is truth'; though he admits the above interpretation, reading *ἀληθείᾳ*. And also moral teaching, vs. 22 ff., concerning putting off the old man and the former sinful way of life, and putting on the new man created in righteousness and holiness of the truth.[5]

Besides these allusions in the Pauline Epistles, similar indications of this initial teaching appear in later New Testament Books. In Mtw. 28, 19, disciples are made by baptism, with instruction 'to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you.' Since the converts at Pentecost continued stedfastly in the Apostles' Teaching and in the Fellowship, the Breaking of Bread and the Prayers, Acts 2, 42, it is at least presumable that this *διδαχὴ τῶν ἀποστόλων* was given them at their admission into the Fellowship. 'The rudiments of the first principles of the oracles of God,' Hbws. 5, 12, and the doctrine of the first principles of Christ,

[5] Schenkel, quoted by Holtzmann, finds presupposed in this passage 'introductory catechetical instruction.'

Hbws. 6, are found in the context, 5, 12 to 6, 5, to refer to instruction preparatory to baptism. A. B. Davidson, *Hebrews*, p. 118 finds that 'the subjects are enumerated in the natural order in which they would be brought before men's minds, whether in preaching or catechetical instruction.' The allusions to such catechetical instruction are presented in detail by A. Seeberg, *Der Brief an die Hebräer*, 1912, pp. 59 to 65.

It may be urged against this view of an instruction between conversion and baptism, that if its general contents be such as in Hbws. 6, 1, the Jews would have had no need for it: they already believed the six fundamentals here mentioned. But as Peake remarks, *Hebrews*, pp. 14, 141, 'so far as these fundamentals were present in Judaism, the word of the beginning of Christ (refers) to the specifically Christian presentation of them. No doctrine of Judaism can be simply taken over into Christianity. It is transformed in the process, and therefore it was especially necessary that Jews who became Christians should be taught to re-interpret their old doctrines from their higher point of view.' It may further be urged that in several cases in the Acts, baptism followed immediately upon conversion. It is a fact that in the ten cases of baptism in Acts, the promptness of baptism after conversion is stated in five cases: the 3,000 converts on Pentecost, the Eunuch, Saul, Cornelius and the Jailer at Philippi. In this last case, certainly, the promptness is emphasized: 'He took them the same hour of the night and washed their stripes, and was baptized he and all his immediately,' Acts 16, 33.

We notice, however, in all these five cases that there are also recorded special facts connected with their conversion. The 3,000 converts listen to Peter's sermon under the initial impression of the gift of tongues. Saul and Cornelius have already received heavenly visions. The Jailer has become receptive for St. Paul's preaching of salvation by a conviction of supernatural events connected with the Apostle's imprisonment. Philip has been impelled to preach to the Eunuch by an Angel of the Lord and by the Spirit. Peter has likewise been sent to Cornelius by a vision and the Spirit's command; while Ananias' divine commission in his vision, evidently included the baptism of Saul, Acts 9, 15 ff., 22, 16. This element of a special divine manifestation in these instances of conversion, and of divine indication in some

of these cases of their preparation for admission to the Church, is related to a second fact in all these cases: the completeness and intensity of their conviction of the truth of the Gospel preaching. This centered around the proclamation that Jesus was Christ and Lord, with indications of the several lines of witness, which would be developed in varying amount of detail. Faith in this proclamation involved obedience to the Gospel call to repentance in view of the impending messianic judgment; and to works worthy of repentance, which were inspired by the Gospel offer of the hope of salvation, which was pledged now in the gift of the Spirit as an earnest of the consummation of salvation on the Lord's return in glory. In the degree therefore of the intensity of the immediate conviction of faith in Jesus, would be the degree of the prompt and clear-sighted acceptance of these necessary terms of admission to baptism.

Further, in three if not four of these cases of prompt baptism, the converts had already a large measure of acquaintance with the essential contents of initial Christian instruction, as far as we can reconstruct it. Acquaintance with the ministry and self-revelation of Jesus on the part of the converts at Pentecost is definitely asserted by Peter, Acts 2, 22. He makes the same assumption in the case of Cornelius, Acts 10, 36. Saul had full opportunity and occasion to acquaint himself with the beliefs and admission rite of the Christians whom he persecuted for their beliefs. It would be strange if the Eunuch returning from Jerusalem in the days of the persecution upon the death of Stephen, had not become acquainted with the Christian movement. All of these men, Jews and God-fearers, were besides familiar with the moral teachings of the Two Ways and with the messianic hope and current eschatology.[6]

In such cases, a large general acquaintance with the topics of preparatory instruction actually preceded conversion. The awakening of personal faith would therefore make them quickly responsive to an instruction concerning specifically Christian beliefs, practices and hope, preparatory to their definite profession in baptism. In the cases of the Eunuch and the Jailer, indisputably

[6] Alford on Acts 2, 41 and Stokes, *Acts*, p. 138, deny that at this period there was any preparatory training or instruction in doctrine; and Alford approves Neander's view that the seeds of the later Judaizing form of Christianity were brought by many of these uninstructed converts of Pentecost.

baptism followed immediately on conversion. The spiritual emergency demanded their prompt admission into the Church. But the principle of definite preparatory instruction could still be acted upon in these special instances by incorporating its essential features in the preaching. That the preaching of Philip, Acts 8, 35, included an explanation of baptism is revealed in the Eunuch's question: Here is water, what hinders me to be baptized? Paul too at Philippi first answers the Jailer's question "what must I do to be saved" by repeating the baptismal profession, Acts 16, 31, "Believe on the Lord Jesus," cp. Rom. 10, 9.10, and then spoke unto him the word of the Lord. His immediate, παραχρῆμα, baptism, and the Eunuch's desire for immediate baptism, seem to be recorded as an evidence of the thoroughly awakened positive faith of these converts, which included prompt acceptance of all terms of admission to baptism that were presented to them in the preaching or in connection with it.

All of Luke's references in the Acts to baptism assume his readers' familiarity with the rite. He has in no case described it, its mode or its ritual. It is not then strange that in his compressed accounts and references, he should omit the definite catechesis which prepared for the ceremony. His direct interest in all his summary references to baptism is in the conversion of those baptized; in their definite profession of faith; and in their entrance into the Christian fellowship. His passing over the intermediate steps between "they believed and were baptized" is therefore entirely consistent with the existence of a preparatory instruction as the normal rule. Indeed in some of Luke's references, a detailed study would disclose intimations of this instruction. At Pentecost upon the conclusion of the sermon, those who "were pricked in their heart" and ask what shall we do, receive in vss. 38 f. a supplementary instruction concerning baptism as related to faith in Jesus Christ, to penitent renunciation of the work of darkness and to the gift of the Spirit as a pledge of the hoped for messianic salvation. To this instruction there are added, vs. 40, many other words of solemn charge and exhortation, before their baptism in vs. 41. The fact, in vs. 42, of their adherence to the teaching of the Apostles and to the Fellowship, the Breaking of Bread and the Prayers, more naturally points to stedfastness in instruction they had received at the outset, than to addiction to later

doctrinal instruction in the faith they had professed. Cornelius' reception of the Spirit proved his possession of the qualifications for baptism in which the Spirit was given. Yet the fact, Acts 10, 48, that Peter did not himself forthwith baptize him, which would be a matter of a few moments, but instead gave directions, προσέταξε, to some others to baptize him, suggests that the delay before baptism may have been connected with such instruction as was necessary for the observance of the primitive rite. In the case of Paul, I Cor. 15, 1 ff. and 11, 23 ff., refer to his own instruction in the Christian tradition concerning the baptismal formula and the Lord's Supper. The two compressed accounts of his baptism in Acts 9 and 22, with their references to several definite features of that rite, imply knowledge of the professions involved. With much or almost all of this, St. Paul could be already acquainted. His spiritual experience at Christ's appearance to him led directly to his personal acceptance of it as he knew of it, and as any supplementary details of this Christian tradition were delivered to him for profession in baptism.

In proceeding next to the consideration of the range of subjects in this initial instruction, we are concerned here only with the general results of investigation of the primitive Christian catechesis based on the New Testament indications and their relation to earlier Jewish instructions and to the later Christian catechetical literature. The New Testament instruction seems to have been on three fundamental subjects and probably on two supplementary topics concerning participation in the corporate Christian life after baptism. The publication of the Didache led to a recognition that it pointed to a similar type of instruction in the New Testament Age; and also that it was based on an earlier Jewish instruction for proselytes. Bernays in his classic monograph, '*Über das Phokylideische Gedicht*,' 1856, had already shown that the Greek hexameter poem of Pseudo-Phokylides was a Jewish work of moral instruction for heathen. Klein [7] names it, 'the oldest catechism for the heathen.' Its parallels to the Didache are listed by Seeberg in *Die beiden Wege*, pp. 25 to 31; and parallelisms between the Didache, the Sibylline Books and Phokylides are presented by J. R. Harris, *The Teaching of the Apostles*, pp. 40 to 47. Klein adds

[7] G. Klein, *Der Aelteste Christliche Katechismus und die Jüdische Propaganda Literatur*, 1909.

parallels to the Palestinian Derech Erez literature, pp. 150 to 153. Following Bernays, he holds that the material for Phokylides and similar works was gathered principally from Leviticus, Chapters 17 to 20; but maintains as his special thesis that the primitive Jewish Didache was a tractate of the Derech Erez literature, p. VII, whose subject he at length identifies, p. 63, with Natural Religion. Schürer, *History of the Jewish People, etc.*, II, vol. 3, p. 248 ff., gives in full the history of the literature of Jewish propaganda, instruction, apology and polemic, and concludes that its fixed type consists of teaching concerning Jewish monotheism, morals and eschatology.

In the Didache Christian monotheism is assumed. After the moral instruction in the Two Ways of Chapters 1 to 6, follows teaching in Chapters 7 to 10 on the celebration of the two sacraments, on fasting and prayer; in Chapters 11 to 15 on the ministry, worship and church alms; concluding with the chapter on the last things.[8] Harnack in Hauck, *P. R. E.*, 1.724, records the general recognition that Chapters 1 to 5 and most probably Chapter 6 are based on an earlier Jewish instruction. He grants also the possibility that the Jewish work contained directions corresponding to the Christian directions as to baptism, prayer, first fruits, etc., especially in view of chapters 8 and 12.

1. On a type of this proselyte instruction with a similar range of topics treated from a specifically Christian standpoint, the instruction of Jewish converts preparatory to Christian baptism would seem to have been based. First, corresponding to the section of teaching in the hellenistic heathen propaganda on Jewish monotheism, there would necessarily be detailed exposition of the announcement in the Gospel preaching that Jesus was Christ, Son of God and Lord. This would be based as in Christ's own training of the Twelve on the witness of the self-revelation of His life, character and redemptive work. It would thus include the communication of the essential facts of Christ's life, ministry, death and resurrection. This exposition of the Gospel facts as revealing Jesus' Sonship and Lordship, would be the fitting occasion for

[8] Harnack, *l. c.*, p. 712, arranges the contents in two or three sections. He combines Chapters 7 to 10 with the Two Ways, as containing the definite church rites which constitute the Christian character of the congregations; while Chapters 11 to 15 contain directions for church fellowship and life.

definite apologia in order to enlighten the catechumen as to the true bearings of the Gospel facts and teachings, and to guard him from current slanders and attacks on the faith. The design of this first part of the catechesis was to lead to a clear profession of faith in Jesus, in a baptismal formula which became the basis of the Creed. A generation later, large portions of this instruction relating to the words and deeds of Jesus were fixed in writing in our earliest Gospels or their sources. The early ceremony of the Traditio Evangeliorum to the catechumen at baptism [9] is in keeping with this view of definite initial instruction in the Gospel facts. The view is further supported by the consideration that on the one hand these facts could not be given in sufficient detail in the general propaganda preaching; and on the other hand, in the Epistles they are assumed as known and are referred as having been taught.[10] So that there remains only the period between conversion and baptism for the communication, necessary elucidation and defense of the Gospel facts, in order to a solemn profession of faith in baptism. We can also anticipate that in the later written gospels addressed to believers already thus prepared for the baptismal confession of faith, the apologetic element will not be found to be the predominant feature and controlling aim.

2. There was next, clearly, the need of a full practical instruction concerning the new life in this Christ, to which they were called. This would expound the summons to repentance, to cease from sin; no longer to live to the lusts of men, but to the will of God, I Peter 4, 2. In general it was instruction as to 'how they ought to walk and to please God.' Its basis and framework was a Christian adaptation of the Jewish proselyte instruction in the Two Ways. We have forms of this not only in the Didache but in the pre-Christian Jewish propaganda and in early Christian literature. The New Testament, especially in the hortatory sections of the Epistles, is full of reminders, detailed expositions and special applications of this primitive moral instruction, which prepared the convert for formal renunciation of sin in the baptismal confession of repentance. The content of this moral teaching,

[9] J. Kaunze, *Die Uebergabe der Evangelien beim Taufunterricht*, 1909.

[10] Cp. R. J. Knowling, *Witness of the Epistles*, 1892; and *Testimony of St. Paul to Christ*, Lectures IX to XVI, 1905; and the works referred to on p. 73.

in particular in regard to his walk in newness of life, is summed up in the statement: Love is the fulfilling of the Law.

3. There was obviously need of a fuller instruction of the convert concerning the Christian transformation of the Jewish messianic Hope concerning the last things: as to the consummation of the promised salvation in the messianic Kingdom at Christ's coming in glory; and as to the pledge and earnest of inheritance in the Kingdom to be received in the gift of forgiveness and of the Spirit. This need was met by a third topic of instruction concerning the last things and the present appropriation of their essential blessings by the Christian hope of glory and of the full possession of the messianic salvation. It would be based on the eschatological teachings of Jesus, later recorded in the Gospels. In the Epistles it is constantly recalled in the summons to patient hope, and in the assurance that the God of Hope is faithful and will preserve them blameless to the day of Christ. The Didache in Chapter 16 and other forms of instruction in early Christian literature likewise contain teaching concerning these last things.

The presumption that these topics would be the leading features of the converts' initial instruction is strengthened by the prevalence in the Epistles of summaries of Christian life as a life of faith, love and hope. Thus in the early I Thessalonians, their Christian life is summarized as the Apostle remembers 'how their faith works, their love toils and their hope on the Lord Jesus Christ endures,' Findlay. In the later epistle to the Colossians, Christian life is still described as faith in Christ, love to all the saints and hope which is laid up for them in heaven. The fixed formulation of this triad and its constant recurrence in New Testament writings is most naturally understood as a reference to the three essential professions in Christian baptism, for which the converts would need to be prepared by the definite three fold instruction that has been indicated.

4. There were doubtless additional topics of instruction needed as the convert normally entered the new life of Christian fellowship: the nature and effect of the baptism for which they were preparing; and of the Breaking of Bread, in which they would share, as well as the subject of Christian fellowship in the Church's work, worship and discipline. A. Seeberg, *Katechismus der Urchristenheit*, p. 247, concludes that in the Apostolic Age the cate-

chism included the following topics: the Formula of Belief; the Ways; Baptism and the Gift of the Spirit; the Lord's Prayer and a statement of the words with which Jesus instituted the Lord's Supper. He holds that we cannot determine a priori whether it contained additional topics; and he also leaves undecided the question whether the sections on Baptism, the gift of the Spirit and the Lord's Prayer formed independent topics, or were combined as two or as one subject of instruction. He further maintains that the catechism consisted entirely of words of Christ.

The framework of the New Testament Epistles points to an earlier instruction of the readers having this general range of topics. Their doctrinal portion assumes, develops and applies the original teaching concerning the person and work of Christ; their concluding hortatory division develops the moral teaching of the Ways by inculcating a walk in love inspired by the Christian hope. Attached in varying methods to these exhortations are references to the Christian life as related to corporate worship and work. Thus in I Thessalonians, after the first three chapters concerning their faith in the Gospel preaching of Jesus as Lord, follow exhortations concerning the moral walk in love, 4, 1 to 12; and concerning the state of the Christian dead and other topics of the Christian hope of salvation at the Parousia, 4, 13 to 5, 11. These constant subjects of the Epistles are here followed by exhortations concerning the ministry, 5, 12 to 15, and worship, including the exercise of spiritual gifts, 5, 16 to 21. In Hebrews also, the initial instruction included besides teaching of repentance from the works of the way of death, of faith in God, of the resurrection and judgment, teaching also concerning baptism and laying on of hands, 6, 1 ff. These subjects are mentioned as related to the initial steps of their admission to the Church. That this instruction contained additional topics may be indicated in the introduction to the concluding hortatory division of the Epistle, 10, 19 ff., which like the section 6, 1 ff. seems to be based on the framework of the initial teaching. After the ten dogmatic chapters on the person and redemptive work of Christ, succeed exhortations to life within the house of God as related to faith professed in baptism, to hope and to the good works of love, 10, 19 to 24. Following these is the reference, vs. 25, to 'our own assembling together,' *τὴν ἐπισυναγωγὴν ἑαυτῶν*, and to mutual

exhortations. The rest of the Epistle is constructed on this framework: a chapter on faith, the 11th; on the patience of hope animated by the issues of the final judgment and awards, the 12th; a brief repetition of some of the good works of love from the Two Ways, 13, 1 to 6; and in vss. 7 to 17 references to the ministry and worship, which would parallel the remaining topic, 'our own assembling' in 10, 25.

Besides the clear indications of its definite range of topics in these and other Epistles, cp. Eph. 4 ff. and Rom. 12 ff., there are also traces at least, in the New Testament and later literature, of the form of the catechesis. Naturally and even apart from Old Testament precedents and Jewish religious educational methods, it would follow Christ's method of training the Twelve, in which instruction by question and answer played so prominent a part. And this method would evidently be directly suited to guide the thought of the new converts concerning the fundamental import and the bases of the Gospel truth they had accepted, and to frame their inquiries for direction in the new life they entered. Reflections of this catechetical method appear, *e. g.*, in Rev. 7, 13, where one of the elders anticipates the Seer's questions and asks, 'who are these and whence come they? and I say unto him, My Lord, thou knowest'; which is 'a confession of ignorance and an appeal for information,' Swete *in loc.*, who also refers to Zech. 4, 2 f. and Ezek. 37, 3. 'And he said unto me, these are they that come out,' etc. And in Rom. 10, 9 f., Paul in referring to the baptismal profession, and probably to some of its terms, passes into what is practically a catechetical method of discussion, in which also the Old Testament Testimonia are interwoven.[11] Fully recognizing the extremely conjectural character of any attempts at definite construction of the primitive preparatory instruction, we shall offer, and for brevity in the form of positive statement, the following suggestions concerning some of its features.

The witness for the catechesis form of instruction in matters of faith, is the interrogative form of the Creed. We could con-

[11] For the use of the catechesis form, *κατὰ πεῦσιν καὶ ἀπόκρισιν*, in Greek and Roman writers on metaphysical and ethical questions, see E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, 101–108, where he also refers to his article in *Hermes*, XL, 1905, 517 ff., on the literature of the *ἐρωτήματα*, which were typical for the *εἰσαγωγή*.

clude from Hbws. 11, 6; Rom. 3, 30 and numerous parallels, that the instruction began with *εἰ εἷς ἐστιν ὁ θεός*, the answer being based of course on Dty. 6, 4 and other Old Testament teachings; and after inquiries and replies as to his nature and his relation to the world and to man, followed the question and answer concerning Christ. This the gloss in Acts 8, 37 most probably reproduces from the primitive catechism, as does also Rom. 10, 9. 10: *εἰ πιστεύεις Ἰησοῦν εἶναι τὸν υἱὸν θεοῦ, κύριον, χριστόν.* In order to answer *πιστεύω ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας*, the catechumen was taught *τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, τὰ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ*, something at least *περὶ πάντων ὧν ἤρξατο ὁ Ἰησοῦς ποιεῖν τε καὶ διδάσκειν*, and *μνημονεύειν τῶν λόγων τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ*. And he learned, in connection with the Testimonia, to examine the Scriptures *εἰ ἔχοι ταῦτα οὕτως: εἰ παθητὸς ὁ χριστός*, Acts 26, 23; cp. also Mk. 9, 12 ff.; *εἰ πρῶτος ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν φῶς μέλλει καταγγέλλειν τῷ τε λαῷ καὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν; το Ἀνέβη τί ἐστιν.*

From I Thess. 4, 1, we learn that the catechesis in fulfillment of the moral law by love was termed *τὸ πῶς δεῖ ἡμᾶς περιπατεῖν καὶ ἀρέσκειν θεῷ*; as in Ephes. 5, 10, *τί εστιν εὐάρεστον τῷ κυρίῳ*, and vs. 17 as understanding *τί τὸ θέλημα τοῦ κυρίου*; or as introductory to the hortatory section of Romans, 12, 2: *τί τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ, τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ εὐάρεστον καὶ τέλειον.* It included of course as its essential element, the teaching and imitation of Christ; cp. Mtw. 28, 20; 7, 24 ff.; John 14, 15; 15, 10. The range of its contents has been suggested above.

The catechesis on the eschatological hope appears to have been entitled, *περὶ τῶν χρόνων καὶ τῶν καιρῶν*, I Thess. 5, 1; cp. Acts 3, 20 f. Its direct dependence, even in form, on Christ's teaching, appears, *e. g.*, in Acts 1, 6 f.; Mk. 9, 10 ff.; as well as in the Discourse on the last things. The general character of the questions on this topic are suggested in Eph. 1, 18 ff., what is the hope of his calling, what the wealth of the glory of his inheritance in the saints, what the might of his power in the resurrection of Christ, in which we already share. Under this special topic of the resurrection whose title seems to be indicated in Mk. 12, 26, *περὶ τῶν νεκρῶν ὅτι ἐγείρονται*, or as in Mtw. 22, 31 *περὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τῶν νεκρῶν*, some definite questions may be recognized, as in Acts 26, 8 *εἰ ὁ θεὸς νεκροὺς ἐγείρει*; I Cor. 15, 31 *πῶς ἐγείρονται οἱ νεκροί*; and *εἴπερ δίκαιον παρὰ θεῷ ἀνταποδοῦναι*, II Thess. 1, 6. The

general reply to this last question which is incorporated in the next verses, repeated in Rom. 2, 5–10 and referred to in Col. 3, 24; Eph. 6, 8, as well known, *εἰδότες*, is based as before on the Testimonia and on Christ's general teaching on the resurrection, cp. Mk. 12, 24 ff. and on *ἀνταπόδοσις*, Mtw. 16, 27; Lk. 14, 14; cp. John 5, 29. The instruction in prayer while watching for Christ's coming: *τὸ δεῖν πάντοτε προσεύχεσθαι καὶ μὴ ἐνκακεῖν*, is likewise based on Christ's teaching in the parable of the Unjust Judge, Lk. 17, 1; and in Rom. 8, 26, another question in the catechesis on prayer appears in *τὸ τί προσευξώμεθα καθὸ δεῖ*. The general outline of the response might probably be reconstructed from Eph. 6, 18 f. and the parallels to it in the context of the question in Rom. 8, 26. We learn too from I Thess. 3, 3 f. that among the earliest topics of instruction was that concerning the *δοκίμιον τῆς πίστεως* amid manifold tribulations. In Acts 14, 22 this instruction seems to be recapitulated in the expression *ὅτι διὰ πολλῶν θλίψεων δεῖ ἡμᾶς εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν θεοῦ*.

Instruction as to the new relationships of converts to the Apostolic preachers of the Gospel and as to their fellowship in the Christian brotherhood in work, mutual service and worship, could be comprehended in the summary concerning Church order in I Tim. 3, 15: *πῶς δεῖ ἐν οἴκῳ θεοῦ ἀναστρέφεσθαι*. How early and in what detail such teaching was given, would be almost entirely conjectural. Yet that at least elementary principles were imparted at an early stage of the converts' connection with the Church, is suggested in Acts 2, 42, where the new disciples are described as continuing not only in the Apostles' didache, but in the Koinonia, Breaking of Bread and the Prayers; and also in I Thess. 5, 12–22 where the new converts of Thessalonica can be reminded of such initial instruction, in briefest allusions. It will be observed that later in the Pastorals in the dokimasia for the admission of presbyter-bishops and widows, the catechesis form is still apparent. And in matters of worship, not only do the interwoven liturgical formulæ assume the readers' familiarity from the first with the Church's prayers, psalms, hymns and spiritual songs, but also as Seeberg has shown in the the passage already cited, the convert was taught at baptism the Lord's Prayer and the words of institution of the Holy Communion.

Who were the teachers of this preparatory instruction is not

definitely stated. But that it was commonly assigned by the Apostles to their fellow-laborers may be gathered from Acts 10, 48, where Peter, who has been accompanied to Cæsarea by six brethren, 'commanded them,' προσέταξεν, to be baptized; and from 13, 5 where Mark is the ὑπηρέτης of Paul and Barnabas on the first missionary journey; though upon his retirement at Perga, Paul himself gave this instruction in South Galatia, Gal. 5, 21. On the next journey he had with him Silas of Jerusalem, whom Zahn regards as chosen to communicate the Evangelical tradition of the Jerusalem church; and who, in our view of Acts 15, 28, as summarizing the moral teachings of the Christian didache, could also as the representative of that church impart those teachings. But as prophet, Silas was more probably engaged in the higher work of preaching and exhortation; especially since Paul, as soon as he advanced to new propaganda work, took Timothy as helper. We learn from I Cor. 4, 17, that Timothy is able to teach "my ways which are in Christ, even as I teach everywhere in every church." The elementary character of this didache appears, as has been mentioned, in the contrast I Cor. 14, 19 between Tongues, which are assumed in Corinth to be the highest form of utterance, and the simplest form, here described as: 'I had rather in the church speak five λόγοι, cp. Hbws. 6, 1, with my understanding that I may κατηχήσω others also.' Hbws. 5, 12 assumes that any mature Christian of experience and zeal could become a teacher of what in the context is the elementary instruction for baptism. Such was the teaching of Priscilla and Aquila, Acts 18, 26, where too, cp. also vs. 27 f., it is evident that Apollos's teaching had a far wider range. It seems therefore that in the New Testament Age, this instruction was not as yet assigned to a special class [12] but was a

[12] In Gal. 6, 6, ὁ κατηχῶν might suggest such a specialized office. But in fact the section is not concerned with the special relations of catechumens and catechists, but with generous support of the clergy. It has been recalled above that this form of description of disciples and clergy is due to the fact that it concludes an exhortation, 5, 13 ff., on topics of the catechesis. It may further be recalled that the duty of support in return for Gospel instruction is enforced again in I Cor. 9, 7–14; and also that the description of this instruction in Gal. as initial teaching is similar to the comparison of it in I Cor. to the initial plowing, sowing and planting, as well as to shepherding. The Apostle's choice of σπείρειν and κατηχεῖν could express and emphasize the fact that the spiritual life of converts was a continuous growth of the word of the

function exercised in the mission field at times by Apostle, Evangelist or fellow-laborer; and in local churches would most naturally be a subordinate function of the Teacher, who with whatever other duties, imparted in the services an exposition, development and application of the doctrinal and practical truth delivered in the Gospel preaching and in the instruction preparatory to baptism.

It may be added that this primitive catechesis was not in written form, nor in one fixed form. Hence along with clear indications of its definite range of topics and of compendious formulations of its controlling elements, we find throughout the New Testament and in the writings of the post-Apostolic Age, a marked freedom in recalling it and in developing its contents. It was ultimately absorbed by the written Gospels and Creeds, which provided instruction concerning matters of faith and hope; by the hortatory sections of the Epistles concerning love and hope; and by their sections allied to the Pastorals, as well by the later Church orders and liturgies, concerned with Church fellowship.

The direct aim of the preparatory instruction was to lead the convert to certitude of faith; to deepen, with the accompanying divine witness both in the preaching and in the ensuing fuller instruction, his conviction that in the Gospel, salvation was offered in the risen Jesus, Son of God, Lord, Christ. This divinely effected result followed upon the profession in baptism: a profession involving a grateful devotion of faith in the Christ of the Apostolic preaching and instruction; a self-renunciation; a new view of life, a new bent of mind; a hunger for righteousness, moral purity and power inspired by hope of a heavenly inheritance and of consummated mystic union with God in Christ, already pledged in the gift of the Spirit in a new life of brotherhood and common fellowship in worship, mutual service and of consecration to the work of the world's redemption.

2. THE CONFIRMATION OF FAITH

In the New Testament accounts of the genesis of faith, the result of the divine witness accompanying the Apostolic defense of the Gospel and the instruction which followed it, was that the disciples'

truth of the Gospel definitively communicated and implanted in the initial preaching and teaching, as the regenerating word of life. Such too is the thought of Col. I, 5.6, and of I Pet. 1, 23–25.

faith reached at baptism, direct certitude and full assurance. The faithful are constantly referred to as ἐρριζωμένοι, τεθεμελωμένοι, ἑδραῖοι, ἀμετακίνητοι, βεβαιούμενοι, ἐν πληροφορίᾳ πίστεως.[13]

The 'grace' of Paul's apostolic office, so B. Weiss, *Phpbf.*, p. 58, in which the Philippians participate, is the defense and confirmation of the Gospel: ἀπολογία καὶ βεβαίωσις, Php. 1, 7. In the context these terms refer to his whole ministry of the Gospel from the first day of the conversion of the Philippians until now when he is in bonds; and in this vs. 7 the Gospel preaching is characterized by its presentation in the initial apologia of the kerugma and by its completion in the converts' bebaiosis: the full assurance and confirmation of faith. Our present interest in the statement is that it introduces the subject of the nature of 'the confirmation of faith' and its relation to the defense of the Gospel witness and call. The interpretation of the terms and of their relation which has been here briefly given, will be supported by other passages. But the familiar opposing views of this passage claim our notice, as they reveal the conflicting efforts to obtain a satisfactory distinction of the terms when viewed simply as two forms of human proof.

The fact that the Apostle is in bonds awaiting trial has often suggested to commentators, and recently to Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, p. 108, a reference to his defense and to his vindication of the Gospel in a judicial process. But the Gospel was not on trial in Nero's court. It is possible that not even Paul was put on his trial at this period, if as Lake has again proposed, the Jeru-

[13] Clement of Rome, 42, 3, describes the Apostles as preaching the Gospel, 'being fully assured, πληροφορηθέντες through the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, and confirmed, πιστωθέντες, in the Word of God with full assurance of the Holy Ghost.' Ignatius addresses the Church in Philadelphia as 'firmly established, ἠδρασμένη, in the concord of God, rejoicing in the possion and resurrection without wavering, ἀδιακρίτως, being fully assured in all mercy.' He describes its clergy as those whom Christ 'established in confirmation,' ἐστήριξεν ἐν βεβαιωσύνῃ by his Holy Spirit.' The Smyrnæans, chap. 1, he perceived 'are established in faith immoveable, κατηρτισμένους ἐν ἀκινήτῳ πίστει, being as it were nailed on the cross in flesh and spirit; and firmly grounded, ἠδρασμένους, in love in the blood of Christ; and fully persuaded as touching our Lord,' *viz.*, as Son of David, Son of God, Virgin born, baptized by John, suffering under Pilate and risen.

salem charges were not pressed against him in Rome.[14] If they were, any apology of the Gospel such as Paul entered upon at Cæsarea, Acts 26, 24, would have been silenced as it had been by Festus's loud cry 'Thou art mad,' and by Agrippa's sneer. Nor could there have been in the Roman court a 'vindication' such as Deissmann followed by G. C. Martin understands. For on the suggested theory that the word bebaiosis is used in the sense of the Attic juristic term 'warranty of title,' it would signify the fulfillment of a pledged engagement, which as Deissmann, p. 108 f. shows would suit Paul's use of the term in other passages and also in this passage as we have interpreted it above; though we cannot conceive any such relation of the Gospel and its preacher to the Roman tribunal.

Hence other views range from the restriction of the defense to the judicial trial and of the confirmation to preaching at Rome, to the reference of both terms to evangelization in Rome in its defensive and aggressive character, and finally to his gospel ministry in general, as by Lewin, *St. Paul*, II, p. 281. B. Weiss and Lightfoot [15] are among those who distinguish the terms as positive and negative defense. The plausibility of this distinction is favored by our familiarity with it in formal treatises on apologetics in modern and ancient times. But it implies an improbable distinction of methods of evangelization that were unsuited to the conditions of the primitive mission preaching, in which according to our records the defensive and positive elements were interwoven. It also overlooks the fact that a few verses later, Paul evidently includes in the statement 'I am appointed

[14] *Interpreter*, 1909, 147 ff. and Theol. Tidjschrift, 1916, p. 360 ff. The same view was suggested by Lewin, *St. Paul*, II, 281: 290.

[15] Weiss, *Phpbf.* 57, lists the distinctions between the two words advocated by the older commentators. He concludes: 'As concerns this defence we can think of every kind of defence, official and unofficial in word and course of life, as even the imprisonment offered him opportunity. Associated with this activity for the Gospel, the bebaiosis can thus only describe an analogous activity exercised through the word and course of life; only more positively, in contrast to the former antithetical activity (Meyer).' Similarly, J. B. Lightfoot *in loc.*: 'Apologia implies the negative or defensive side of the Apostle's preaching, the preparatory process of removing obstacles and prejudices; bebaiosis devotes the positive or aggressive side, the direct advancement and establishment of the Gospel. The two together will thus comprise all modes of preaching and extending the truth.'

for the apologia of the Gospel,' vs. 16, all forms both of positive and negative defense, so De Wette. We are thus left to seek in the bebaiosis of vs. 7 neither a mere rhetorical repetition of apologia nor any special phase of it; but a term referring to the distinct goal of apologia: the grounding and confirming of disciples who had been won by the apologia of the Gospel witness and its call to salvation, in full assurance of faith. It was therefore most natural that both terms should here be employed by him in his comprehensive description of his ministration of the Gospel. Confirmation and full assurance both of the truth he preached and of the redemptive blessings he offered was the direct aim of his evangelization, and it was also the basis of all his subsequent establishment and nurture of his converts' Christian life and growth into the fullness of the Christ.

For our understanding of the character and contents of this confirmation and assurance, it is essential that we first recall the New Testament view of it. It is a direct certitude not only as to the truth of the revelation and redemptive facts declared in the Gospel preaching, but also as to the fulfillment in the believer of the promise of personal salvation based on those redemptive facts. It is the experience of the believer's undivided life and whole personality. As it is described in Hbws. 6, 4 f., where upon response to the preaching and instruction concerning the personal conditions of salvation, the means of entrance into it, and its relation to the ultimate issues of life, vss. 1.2, the converts received in baptism their illumination, being turned from darkness to light; they then tasted the heavenly gift of forgiveness and became sharers of the Holy Ghost; they tasted the Word of God as good, *viz.*, his word of promise of inheritance, cp. vss. 12.17; and as the pledge and means of realizing this hope, they tasted the powers of the world to come, in their reception of the manifold gifts of the Spirit, Hbws. 2, 4. Parallel to this direct certitude of salvation in the undivided spiritual experience of illumination, forgiveness and hope of glory inspired by the indwelling Spirit, is the full assurance in the experience of justification by faith in Rom. 5, 1 ff.: peace with God, introduction into the life of grace and an exulting hope of glory. It was the fulfillment in the believer of the ministry committed to Paul, Acts 26, 16 ff.: to open their

eyes, that they may turn from darkness to light and from the power of Satan unto God, that they may receive remission of sins and an inheritance among them that are sanctified by faith in me. They were confirmed, *βεβαιούμενοι*, in faith, Col. 2, 7; rooted and grounded in love, Eph. 4, 17; they held fast the hope set before them as an anchor sure and stedfast, *ἀσφαλῆ τε καὶ βεβαίαν*, Hbws. 6, 18 f.[16] They had the witness of the Spirit himself with their spirits that they are the children of God, Rom. 8, 16.

This personal experience of salvation to which the New Testament writers thus confidently refer as the possession of believers, is the *βεβαίωσις* of the Gospel; the *πληροφορία* of faith. While necessarily embracing conviction of the truth of the witness and apologia of the Gospel, it is evidently more comprehensive: a direct certitude of the whole personality; an experience illuminating and confirming the conclusions of the intellect, and a basis for their development in all the relations of the new life and new world view. J. Weiss connects the relation of these two modes of knowledge with the Pauline distinction between 'knowing God' and 'being known of God' in I Cor. 8, 2 f.; 13, 12; Gal. 4, 9. After stating, as already cited, that 'the mission preaching is not only to give instruction and to awaken conviction but is a means to prepare a way for the supernatural activity of God,' he adds: 'this view often receives expression by Paul in a very remarkable form. If he speaks of 'knowing God,' the contrasted idea, 'being known of God' forces itself upon him as by a compulsion; and in Gal. 4, 9 as in reality the more appropriate expression. Knowing God is only possible, where God has already known men. This thought is indeed only clear, when 'knowing' is here as often in the Old Testament, Amos 3, 2; Jer. 1, 5, not merely a theoretical acquainting oneself with or knowing another, but an inclination to him with the will, a setting of oneself in relation to him, a choosing of him, an appropriation of him; and in the sphere of personal religion even more: the inner contact of one soul with the soul of

[16] In the Book of Common Prayer, pp. 245, 258, this full assurance is likewise viewed as a gift at the entrance into the Christian life: "that they may be received into the ark of Christ's Church; and being stedfast in faith, joyful through hope and rooted in charity . . . they may come to the land of everlasting life."

the other. The paradox of these three Pauline passages is the paradox of mysticism, *Urchristm.*, p. 187.[17]

This confirmation of faith is always referred to in the New Testament as effected directly by the Spirit, to whose 'demonstration' in both preacher and hearers is ascribed likewise the initial response of faith in the message as a revelation which has evoked recognition, acceptance and obedience by the whole personality. The direct divine confirmation of the believer corresponds both to the New Testament record of the genesis of his faith and to its teaching concerning the character of the Gospel. For the essential characteristic of faith in the revelation of God in Christ cannot be adequately accounted for as the result of any of the factors into which we can psychologically analyze the process of the origin of our convictions and beliefs. It cannot be explained as the result of a wish to believe. Both the solemn interests of their souls' salvation, and the renunciations and sacrifices involved in the converts' baptism, would demand fullest conviction as to the objective validity of the word of the truth of the Gospel. Nor was it produced by the argumentative skill of preachers or by their impressive eloquence; and not alone by the preachers' own evident conviction of the truth of their message and of the reality of their salvation and gift of the Spirit. The mocking at it on Pentecost, in Athens and in Festus's court reveals its insufficiency to convince the hearers of the message even when given by the demonstration of the Spirit and of power in its preachers. Nor was conviction and full assurance due to the compelling force of truth. Although three thousand were converted by the Pentecost sermon, even that number was but a small portion of the pilgrim hosts that heard the same sermon, that were best prepared to respond to it, and yet were not convinced by it. Nor for the same reason of constant rejection of the Gospel, can faith be due to a responsive chord in the human soul which is innately attuned to vibrate in unison with the tones of the message of God's redeeming love, wherever those tones are heard.

A searching historical and psychological analysis of the genesis

[17] The relation of the direct certitude of personal experience of salvation by faith and the historical and philosophical convictions involved in it are discussed at length by Dorner in the introduction to his *System of Christian Faith*, §§ 1–14.

of the certitude of faith has been made by Müller in his study of the origin of the personal Christianity of the Pauline Churches.[18] He cannot account for it as the product of human arguments and persuasions; or of the believer's predispositions to faith; or of his unaided power to apprehend and obey the message as true, authoritative and divine. He therefore concludes that the certitude of faith postulates a divine factor and power for its production. This result of a scientific investigation of its genesis corresponds with the claim of its preachers; and for the reality of such direct divine activity they constantly and confidently appeal to the personal experience of their converts.

Nowhere, however, is there any suggestion that the certitude of faith was divinely effected apart from the psychological laws, personal conditions and social relationships which condition the genesis of all knowledge and conviction. The divine coöperation accompanied each step in the ministry leading to the confirmation of faith. Souls were made receptive in the initial preaching by a divine method and ministry to the personal life and spiritual state of each individual, known only by him that received it. Ears, eyes, hearts were opened; consciences were awakened, to see the light of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ. In the ministry of the catechesis, divine illumination and invigoration accompanied the fuller instruction concerning the person and work of Christ, His commandments of love, His call to inheritance in His kingdom. At baptism, upon the soul's free response of faith in the revelation of the Apostolic witness, call and teaching, came the divine gift of bebaiosis and plerophoria: a direct certitude of a new life in God which rested upon the reality of the redemptive facts and on the fulfillment of the promises preached in the witness and defense of the Gospel.

Corresponding to this view of the divine factor in the genesis of faith are the New Testament statements concerning the character of the Gospel and the method of its preaching. While distinctly recognizing both the limitations of the human messengers and the right of their hearers to examine 'whether these things were so,' the Gospel message is everywhere regarded in the New Testament as the Word of God; not man's word concerning him, but God's

[18] Johannes Müller, *Die Entstehung des persönlichen Christenthums der paulinischen Gemeinden*, 1898.

own word: λόγος θεοῦ, subjective genitive, cp. Findlay, I *Thess.* 2, 13. This because he sent it, Acts 13, 26; and those who like the Thessalonians received it, 2, 13, received it not as the word of men, but as it truly is, the word, message and call of God. And definitely it is the word of salvation which God sent to the sons of Israel preaching good tidings of peace by Jesus Christ, Acts 10, 36. In this definition is included the claim and recognition of a direct divine activity in the ministry of this word he sent; and this claim is continued in the statements of the messengers of the divine word. The authority of Christ's teaching rests on His union with the Father. God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself; II Cor. 5, 19; God spoke in his Son, Heb. 1, 1; Christ's own claim at the close of his public ministry is, I spoke not from myself; but the Father that sent me, he hath given me a commandment, what I should say and what I should speak, John 12, 49. The authority of the Apostles' preaching rests also on the activity of God in and through them. They traced their commission to God speaking in the Son: as the Father hath sent me even so send I you, John 20, 21. Having received from God the ministry of reconciliation, II Cor. 5, 18, they as his ambassadors beseech men, as though God were entreating by them, vs. 20. They speak, II Cor. 2, 17, as of God, in the sight of God and in Christ; and they speak in words which the Spirit teaches, I Cor. 2, 13.

The ministry of the word was moreover accompanied by the divine energizing both in the manifest spiritual experience of the evangelists, which has already been considered, and also in their spiritual gift of working signs and wonders. The word of so great salvation, Hbws. 2, 3 f., having at the first been spoken by the Lord Christ, was confirmed, ἐβεβαιώθη by the Apostles who heard him. And the confirmation and certitude were effected because it rested on the authority of Christ in whom God spoke, and on God's accompanying witness both by external signs, wonders and manifold powers, and by the internal gifts of the Holy Spirit according to his willing.[19] So too in the Acts: the Lord bore witness to the

[19] F. H. Chase, *Old Syriac Element in the Text of Codex Bezæ*, p. 157, notes the coincidence between Hbws, 2, 3 f. and Mk. 16, 19 f., which appears to him to confirm the verdict of the Markan section's antiquity, as 'either founded on language current at a very early period, or the section itself at least substantially was known in the Apostolic Age.'

word of his grace, granting signs and wonders to be done by the Apostles' hands, 14, 3; 15, 12; cp. II Cor. 12, 12. Besides this witness, the direct activity of God was manifested in the whole work of the Apostolic ministry. Round about from Jerusalem unto Illyricum, the Gospel was 'fully preached,' πεπληρωκέναι, or 'brought to full development,' because Christ wrought through Paul in word and deed as well as in the power of signs and wonders. His whole ministry was in the power of the Holy Spirit, Rom. 15, 19. He labored, Col. 1, 29, according to Christ's energy which was operative in him 'in power.' As elsewhere in the New Testament these miracles and work in the power of the Spirit are not referred to as proofs in substantiation of the doctrines preached, but as manifestations of the possession of the Spirit; as revelations of the divine presence, purpose and power working with them as they ministered in God's name.[20]

The divine activity, moreover, coöperating with the preaching of his word through the manifold ministries and media of approach, in order to awaken and confirm faith, energizes directly in the focus of our personality. His word, Heb. 4, 12 f., is living, active, and therefore heart searching; piercing to the basal elements of our nature: to the ultimate point of division between soul and spirit and physical nature. And it is heart revealing: calling to judgment our inner life of volitions, affections and

[20] Westcott, *The Gospel of Life*, p. 80 and chap. 7: Signs as a vehicle of revelation. The signs 'are not properly proofs of a teaching from which they are dissociated, but the teaching itself in a limited form which appeals to men through human experience. They have a spiritual power, and, so far, they are 'spiritually discerned' while the intellect prepares the way for this discernment. . . . They are more properly in their highest form the substance than the proofs of revelation. According to this view (of p. 221) it is wrong to speak of miracles as being in a primary sense proofs of a revelation, or of Christianity in particular. No such claim is made for them in the N. T. . . . They were the flashings forth of the more glorious Divine life when an opening was made for its course.' The miracles wrought by the Apostles 'were not offered as proofs to the unbelieving, but as blessings, and lessons, to the believing. They could be accepted as real, and yet carry no conviction of faith. On the other hand, they undoubtedly moved sympathetic witnesses and hearers; and St. Peter appeals to Christ's works of power and love as witnessing to the presence of God with Him.' Similarly Bruce, *The Miraculous Element in the Gospels*, chap. 8, advocates the view that miracles 'enter into the very substance of the revelation, and are not merely signs confirmatory of its truth.'

reasonings. Thus directly present at the meeting point of every element of our personality, his living word energizes to produce the flash of conviction and direct certitude of the presence of God, the truth of God and the redeeming purpose and power of God.

Two brief references of Paul to the divine activity in the confirmation of faith, will summarize the preceding statements. In I Cor. 2, 1 ff., his preaching was a declaration of the witness of God in Christ, which led to conviction not by his persuasive words of wisdom, but by demonstration of the Spirit and of power. And equally his converts' faith was not the product of human wisdom and reasonings, but was 'in the power of God,' as his living word penetrated to the soul's depths; flashed within it the light of God's exposure of its real state, of his hope for its redemption, of his manifold witness in the redemptive facts of the Gospel; and evoked a response of acceptance of its promise of a personal experience of salvation.

The second reference, II Cor. 1, 18–22, is more specially concerned with this resulting personal certitude of faith. Again, vs. 18, it rests on the faithfulness of God as revealed in the Gospel. For the Son of God Christ Jesus, as preached by His apostolic messengers was not found to be yea and nay: promise and nonfulfillment of promise. But in Him is God's yea: the fulfillment of all the divine promises of salvation. Hence through Him and His Gospel preachers is the Amen: the profession of the believers' certitude and experience of salvation by the yea of God in Christ. And this Amen is to the glory of God; for it is He who confirms into Christ, *βεβαιῶν*: who effects their immediate full assurance of faith in communion with the certitude of the Apostles and all saints; it is He who has anointed, and sealed and has given the earnest of the Spirit in their hearts.

In this verse a reference to the baptismal rite is found by one group of exegetes in 'anointed,' as already used of Christ's baptism in Acts 10, 38; and by another group, in 'sealed.' It is possible that such a reference may be intended by both terms.[21] In any case sealing is here combined with the gift of the Spirit, cp. Eph. 1, 13; 4, 30, which in the New Testament is uniformly connected with

[21] A. Seeberg, *Catcsm. d. Urchristenheit* pp. 226–234, argues that 'sealed' definitely refers to the laying on of hands for the gift of the Spirit in the primitive baptismal service.

baptism. It moreover states the means by which God is ὁ βεβαιῶν. As a seal, the gift of the Spirit is a full assurance of the fulfillment of the divine promises of vs. 20. Definitely it is the confirmation in believers of the Old Testament promise of inheritance, messianic salvation, gift of the Spirit. It rests upon the immutability of His counsel, Heb. 6, 17, shown to the heirs of this promise by two immutable things: by the divine promise and by the oath, which is final εἰς βεβαίωσιν, vs. 16. God therefore is ὁ βεβαιῶν as Christ, Rom. 15, 8, has been made a minister of circumcision in behalf of the truth of God, that he might 'confirm' the promises given unto the fathers. For how many soever be these promises, in Christ is the Yea. The μαρτύριον of Christ, I Cor. 1, 6, His witness of the fulfillment in Him of these promises, was 'confirmed' unto believers; or as in Heb. 2, 3, the so great salvation, having first been spoken by Him was 'confirmed' unto them. And it was confirmed and sealed unto them, vs. 4, by the reception of the Spirit. With this gift come, Gal. 4, 6, and its parallel Rom. 8, 15 f., full assurance of sonship, including as we saw in Rom. 5, 1 f. pardon and peace for the past, present union with the Father and an exulting hope of glory, because of assurance of the final consummation of salvation: if sons, then heirs of God, joint heirs with Christ, 8, 17.

Of this 'salvation in hope,' 8, 24, the initial gift of the Spirit is an ἀπαρχή, a first fruits of a divine fulfillment; an earnest, ἀρραβών 'with a view to a complete redemption which will give possession,' Eph. 1, 14.[22] It is not only a divine promise but a present divine 'full assurance of hope,' Heb. 6, 11. Since it is to be the support of the life of faith and an invigoration of moral energy in the spiritual struggles of the present time, Rom. 8, 18–39, life in the Spirit can be presented in the New Testament as a life begun and perfected in the assurance of hope given in the earnest of the Spirit of promise. This plerophoria is the keynote of the doxology of I Pet. 1, 3–12, to God who begat us again to a living hope; and the Epistle to the Romans issues in the prayer to the God of hope that believers may abound in hope 'in the power' of the Holy Ghost, 15, 13.

[22] Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, 108, 230. The above interpretation of περιποίησις by von Soden and T. K. Abbott would support his explanation of βεβαίωσις.

In the same prayer it is recognized that abounding in the living hope is possible only 'in believing.' The plerophoria of hope cannot be separate from that of faith and sonship. Both are united in the arrabon of the Spirit of God's Son which He sends in the confirmation of faith. For faith working through love is as well the hypostasis, the 'substantiating' of, 'that which gives real existence' to, the things hoped for. 'For we through the Spirit by faith wait for the hope of righteousness.' [23]

Throughout the New Testament teachings concerning the confirmation of faith, we find illustrations and verifications of Westcott's statement: "Revelation is out of life, in life and unto life." It comes out of God's undivided life; and in the whole of Christ's life as the truth, the righteousness, the redeeming love of God. And it is presented as the regenerating power unto salvation to our whole life at its central point of personality, which is the unity of consciousness as at once feeling, knowing and doing: the spirit of man whose consciousness of self, the world and of God is direct and immediate. Upon this spirit of man God ever acts, through whatever ministries and relationships, directly and immediately; and from this center of personality, illuminates the intellect, constrains the affections with the love of Christ, invigorates the will for any renunciation and for absolute self-consecration; and thus evokes the free response of faith, and confirms this faith with the certitude of salvation in the personal experience of the indwelling within the believer's spirit of the Spirit of His glorified Son.

3. ESTABLISHMENT IN THE FAITH

The initial confirmation of faith is the foundation upon which the succeeding Christian life is to be built up. Among the numerous expressions used in reference to the maintenance and development of the plerophoria, the most general term is establishment, *στηρίζειν*. We meet it in Paul's first missionary journey, Acts 14, 22. The ministry of conversion in South Galatia is followed by the Apostle's return through the localities of his expulsion and persecutions, to 'establish' the souls of the disciples and to exhort them

[23] Gal. 5, 5. *Ἡμεῖς γὰρ Πνεύματι ἐκ πίστεως ἐλπίδα δικαιοσύνης ἀπεκδεχόμεθα.*

to 'abide in the faith' amid the tribulations through which they must enter the Kingdom of God. His next journey was not begun as a missionary propaganda, but to visit these Galatian brethren to see how they fare, and still further to establish them, 15, 36.41. The result of this visit was, 16, 5, that these churches were fixed solidly, ἐστερεοῦντο, in the faith.

The word, its equivalents and corresponding phrases appear constantly in the Acts and Epistles. All the technical expressions for this establishment, the parallel ideas and metaphors rest on the conception of Christian life, individual or corporate as a new reality. It is a new birth of an incorruptible seed; a new planting in the likeness of Christ's death and resurrection; a new building up of living stones upon the foundation that is laid, which is Jesus Christ.[24] The metaphors point to corresponding goals. The babes in Christ are to attain the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ; the plantings are to be filled with the fruit of righteousness; the living stones to be built up into a holy temple in the Lord, pillars which shall go out thence no more. To reach this goal there is presupposed not only the initial work of conversion but a spiritual feeding with milk and solid food and nurture in the words of the faith and of the good doctrine; a watering and spiritual husbandry of the planting; and a building up of the living stones upon their most holy faith.

These metaphors which are developed and applied throughout the New Testament in passages too numerous and familiar for transcription are directly concerned with the establishment of faith. The fact that they appear in all groups of New Testament writings, their frequent combination and at times without regard to the mixture of metaphor, the working out of the details of the figures in their application to Christian life and the assumed familiarity of the readers with them, suggest their use in the services and ministries of the primitive Church; and further their probable ultimate source in reminiscences of Christ's teachings. He had declared the need of the new birth and becoming like little children in order to enter the kingdom; had brought the Gospel of sonship; had spoken of those who received his revelation of the Father as babes. Of their growth and bringing forth fruit, he had

[24] I Pet. 1, 23. Jas. 1, 18. Gal. 4, 19. I Cor. 4, 15; Rom. 6, 5. I Cor. 3, 6 ff. cp. Mtw. 15, 13; Eph. 2, 20 ff.; I Pet. 2, 5.; I Cor. 3, 9 ff.

taught in his parables of sowing and in his allegory of the husbandry of the vines. But most definitely the apostolic metaphor of building, *οἰκοδομή*, recalls not only the building up of the Church upon the rock, Mtw. 16, 18, cp. Eph. 2, 20 ff., but also the conclusion of the Sermon on the Mount. In both reports in Mtw. and Lk. from Q, the man who not only hears but does Christ's words is likened to a man building, having first founded his house upon the rock: *ᾠκοδόμησεν, τεθεμελίωτο;* and abiding stedfast, not wave-tossed or wind-driven, Eph. 4, 14, when the floods came and the winds blew and beat upon that house. The mixture of metaphor in the Epistles is reminiscent of these Gospel comparisons. In Eph. 4, 16, the body grows; and its growth is with a view to the building up, *οἰκοδομή*, of itself in love. Christians in Eph. 3, 17, are not only rooted but grounded on a foundation: *τεθεμελιωμένοι;* and thus rooted, Col. 2, 7, are being built up and kept steadfast, cp. 1, 23. Similarly in I Pet. 2, 2 f., the new born babes taste the spiritual *λογικόν* milk that they may grow thereby unto salvation; come to the living stone and are built up into a spiritual house.

The series of terms for development in the metaphor of body and seed naturally emphasize the idea of progress towards fullness of growth and fruitage: *αὐξαίνω, πλεονάζω, περισσεύω*. But in the figure of building, the prominent idea is that of establishment, stedfastness, immovability, firm standing and abiding on the foundation that is laid, as the living stones are built up and reach the perfection of being a habitation of God in the Spirit: *στηριγμός, στερεοί, στερέωμα, ἑδραῖοι, ἀμετακίνητοι, ἵστημι, ἐπι-εμ-μένω, καταρτισμός*. The closing assurance of I Peter reviews the process from the goal to the beginning: God will perfect, establish, strengthen, keep them on the foundation.[25] The aim of the establishment, which is distinct from the confirmation of faith, is to build up believers upon it; to strengthen them so as to abide stedfast and immovable amid all the experiences and trials of their personal life; and against all the attacks on their faith and hope which they were compelled to face in the internal controversies and external persecutions of the Apostolic Age.

Establishment by increase of spiritual stature, fruit of the Spirit, upbuilding on the immovable foundation, is effected like the de-

[25] I Pet. 5, 10. *καταρτίσει, στηρίξει, σθενώσει, θεμελιώσει.*

fense and confirmation of the Gospel, primarily by a divine ministry in the soul. Paul is confident that he who has begun a good work in the Philippians will perfect it until the day of Christ; and that as the witness of Christ was confirmed in the Corinthians, God will keep them blameless in their firmness, βεβαιώσει; Php. 1, 6; 1 Cor. 1, 6.8. In the same conviction, Jesus is called Hbws. 12, 2, the initiator and perfecter of our faith: αρχηγὸς καὶ τελειωτής. These assurances appear in a form and in connections to suggest that they are echoes of the language of primitive Church worship. They occur regularly in the prayers, thanksgivings and doxologies of the writers. The prayers for the Thessalonians are that God himself will establish their hearts blameless; that our Lord Jesus Christ himself and God our Father may establish them in every good word and work, and guard them from the Evil: 1 Thess. 3, 11 f., cp. 5, 23; II Thess. 2, 17; 3, 3. To the Lord the Apostle commends the Ephesian elders, since he is able to build them up and give them the inheritance. And in the doxology which concludes Romans, God is addressed as the one able to establish the readers. The Palestinian writers repeat the thought in the same forms. The assurance of divine establishment at the close of I Peter has already been cited; and in the same strain is Jude's doxology to God 'who is able to guard you from stumbling and to cause you to stand without blemish before the presence of his glory.' This confidence is moreover repeatedly based on the liturgical formula, πιστὸς ὁ θεός. He is faithful to his promise of the messianic salvation brought in the Gospel. 'Faithful is he who calls us, who also will do' what He has promised in that call, I Thess. 5, 24. 'Faithful is the Lord who will establish and guard you,' II Thess. 3, 2. He will 'confirm unto the end,' I Cor. 1, 8 f., since 'faithful is God by whom ye were called into the fellowship of his Son'; cp. I John, 1, 9.

As He uses human organs and means to effect conversion, so he uses them for its establishment. The general means is fellowship in the worship, work, ministry and life of the Church.[26] Paul's ideal for the Philippians, 1, 27, is that they stand in one spirit,

[26] A. Dorner, *Kirche und Reich Gottes*, develops his conception of the Church from the thesis that 'the primitive Church has presented itself originally as a Society for worship and that all its ensuing further functions have attached themselves to this character of the Church.'

with one soul striving together for the faith of the Gospel. Since the Apostolic ministry is the organ of this corporate life in one spirit and soul, growth and establishment as well as conversion will be found to be an essential function and aim of their ministry. The function common to the several classes of ministers in Eph. 4, 11 f., is the perfecting of the saints; and for the realization of this ideal, the various classes of general and local officers are given 'for the work of ministry, for the building up of the body of Christ.[27] This function and duty of the Apostles and founders of churches is performed primarily by a personal visit whose direct purpose was to establish the souls of the disciples. So normal a feature of primitive Church life was this, that Paul's failures to make the visitation called forth as in I Thess. 2, 17–3, 13; II Cor. 1, 15–23; Rom. 15, 14–23, most solemn defenses: assurances to the Thessalonians of his abundant prayers to see their face and to perfect what is lacking in their faith, I Thess, 3, 10; solemn oaths to Corinthians and Romans, invoking God to witness the real causes of his failure to visit them, Rom. 1, 9–16; II Cor. 1, 23. Even when in bonds in Rome, the thought of official pastoral visitation rises spontaneously, Philpp. 1, 25–30, and leads to his conviction that although to depart and be with Christ would be for himself very far better, yet he would live to visit the Philippians for their advance and joy in faith by means of his return and presence among them. Other indications of this customary personal ministry of the Apostles appear in II and III John. Corre-

[27] All the critical texts by the omission of the comma after 'perfecting of the saints' which is inserted in the Textus Receptus and English versions, support the interpretation by Westcott, B. Weiss, Robinson, etc., that the perfecting is for 'service.' Weiss's further omission of the comma after 'service,' points to their service as the upbuilding of the body. In the view adopted above, καταρτισμός is regarded in this context, as in those where it appears in liturgical contexts, not merely as the process as in some other passages, but as the ultimate goal, the τελείωσις the attainment unto the ἄνδρα τέλειον of vs. 13. The perfecting of the saints would thus be the result of διακονία and οἰκοδομὴ and not their equipment for these functions. Ellicott supports this view in connection with the charge of the prepositions: πρὸς καταρτισμόν referring to the more ultimate and final purpose, and εἰς—εἰς to the more immediate purpose of the action. He paraphrases: ' God gave Apostles etc., to fulfill the work of the ministry and to build up the body of Christ; his object being to perfect his saints.'

spondence is inadequate for the many things the Elder has to communicate, II John 12. He will visit them not simply for the happiness of personal intercourse, but with the aim of their mutual establishment, as seen in the solemn formula, 'that our joy may be made full,' cp. I John 1, 4; John, 15, 11; 16, 24; and also with the aim of discipline of Diotrephes, III John 10. Heb. 13, 22 f. expresses a similar recognition of the limitations of the brief written word of exhortation, which is followed by a promise of a personal visit and ministry. Peter's writing δι' ὀλίγων, 5, 12, reflects the same feeling of the advantages of personal exhortation.[28]

So definite indeed is this recognition of the need of Apostolic visitation and ministry for the establishment of believers, that provision is expressly made in case of their inability to visit the Churches. Timothy is commissioned to represent Paul at Thessalonica, Philippi, Corinth and Ephesus; Titus at Corinth, Crete and Dalmatia; Tychicus in Asia. Judas and Silas represent at Antioch the Apostolic conference of Jerusalem. In this and in all the other instances there is a distinct emphasis on their office as ministers of God in the Gospel of Christ and also on the establishment of disciples as the work they were to accomplish either in association with Paul and Barnabas at Antioch, as by the two Jerusalem hegoumenoi and prophets; or in Paul's enforced absence by exile from Thessalonica, or from Corinth by pressure of work, anxiety and desire to spare them, or from Philippi and the Asian Churches, by imprisonment.

Of the detailed character of this ministry of personal visitation of churches already founded, Luke has given no record in the Acts. It has been remarked that his direct interest is in their founding. He has simply stated that

[28] The structure of the sentence, δι' ὀλίγων ἔγραψα, παρακαλῶν καὶ ἐπιμαρτυρῶν may illustrate the meaning of Rom. 15, 15: τολμηροτέρως ἔγραψα ἀπὸ μέρους, ὡς ἐπαναμιμνήσκων. It is usually understood as an apology for portions of the Letter; or by Hofmann for what is fragmentary in its teaching; or by Godet as recalling things already known to a certain degree. In view of the obvious objections to all these explanations, it may be proposed that Paul is here expressing the usual sense of the limitations of an Epistle to communicate the fullness of the spiritual gift for establishment, 1, 11 f. cp. 15, 29, which he hopes to share with them upon his personal visit, 1, 13; 15, 22 ff.

the visits at the conclusion of the first missionary journey and at the beginning of the second was to establish the souls of the disciples on the churches, and adds in the first statement, Acts 14, 22, a reference to the Apostles' ministry of 'exhortation to abide in the faith' and of ordination of presbyters. Nothing further is narrated of his second visit to the churches of Macedonia than that he gave them much exhortation, 20, 2. Not a word is written of the three months' ministry in Greece, vs. 3. The extended discourse before the Eucharist at Troas is mentioned as introductory to the narrative concerning Eutychus. We can therefore only conjecture what were the general features of these visitations as we may recognize reflections of them in the Epistles sent in lieu of them. Like all letters they construct a situation in which the writer is present with the readers; and definitely in this case, present in spirit with the church assembled for worship. Their fundamental aim is the same as that of personal ministry in such a service: to impart some spiritual gift that the hearers may be established, Rom. 1, 11. When writing, Paul though absent in flesh, is yet with the Colossians in spirit, rejoicing and beholding their order and the stedfastness of their faith in Christ: *τὴν τάξιν καὶ τὸ στερέωμα τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν*, cp. 1 Cor. 5, 3 f. Reuss, *History of the New Testament*, § 74, has stated that the writings of Paul 'might be characterized by the general name of pastoral epistles, inasmuch as the Apostle occupies himself chiefly in them with the religious and ecclesiastical condition of the churches to which he writes, and in which he had formerly held, and wished still to hold the position of shepherd of souls and spiritual guide.'

Since the Letters were written in the consciousness of such a relation and situation, we should expect to find a general correspondence between their character and contents and that of the personal ministry in the actual church service. Without entering into the liturgical questions as to the order, forms and ministrants in the primitive worship, we can recognize from the New Testament allusions to it that it included the reading of the Old Testament and some form of commemoration of the words of the Lord Jesus; and based upon this, a preaching of the Word and a doctrinal instruction. In addition there was the prophetic ministry to whose functions Paul refers when in I Cor. 14, 6 he speaks of

coming himself to the church service speaking either by way of revelation or of knowledge or of prophesying or of teaching. These utterances of the prophets are described in vs. 3 as edification, exhortation, consolation, cp. Acts 15, 32, and serve like the other ministries in the Church service, for the establishment of faith. Hence Timothy is directed, I Tim. 4, 13 ff. to give attendance to the customary public reading of the Scriptures, ἡ ἀνάγνωσις, to the exhortation, to the teaching; and again, II Tim. 4, 2, is charged to preach the Word, to be urgent in season, out of season, to reprove, rebuke, exhort, with all long suffering and teaching. And all these forms of instruction, exhortation and discipline are given in connection with the worship in prayer, psalms, hymns and spiritual songs, and in the thanksgivings of the Eucharistic service.

Whatever types of services distinct from the Lord's Supper were developed, to which 'the unlearned and unbelieving' were admitted, I Cor. 14, 23,[29] the Eucharist as the primitive and principal Church service would always normally retain the elements of instruction, exhortation and worship.[30] McGiffert, *Apos. Age*, p. 536, believes that the distinction made by Weizsäcker between meetings for the Word and for the Eucharist may fairly be drawn. He recalls, however, that it is not necessary to suppose that such exercises as those assigned to the meeting for the Word, 'did not occur in connection' with the Lord's Supper. 'It is altogether probable that when Christians came together to break bread, they spoke and prayed and prophesied as they had opportunity or as the Spirit gave them utterance.' A year later than the references in I Cor. 11 and 14 to what are largely held to be distinct services, Paul's service of Breaking Bread at Troas, Acts 20, 7 ff., included extended discourse. In Hbws. 10, 25, the assembling together for mutual exhortation and incitement to love and good works, is developed in 13, 9 ff. with references to the ministry of the Word, teachings, feeding from the altar, sacrifices of praise and beneficence. We may also note in Pliny's

[29] The distinction of services as meetings for the Word and for the Eucharist, made by Weizsäcker, *Apos. Age*, II, 246 ff., is modified by Lindsay, *Church and Ministry in the early Centuries*, p. 43 f., by the further distinction of a meeting for business.

[30] Cp. Rackham, *Acts*, pp. 37, 39, 378.

letter to Trajan, that unless the Bithynian Christians altogether abandoned the celebration of the Holy Communion, it must as Lightfoot holds have been united with the early morning service of exhortation and worship, as indeed we find it described a half-century later in Justin, I *Apology*, 67. The Sunday service as there described begins with a prolonged reading, μέχρις ἐγχωρῇ, of the Memoirs of the Apostles or the writings of the Prophets. Whereupon the προεστώς by means of a discourse makes the instruction, νουθεσία, and exhortation, παράκλησις or incitement πρόκλησις, to the imitation of these good things. Next, all rise together and offer prayers; after which the bread and wine are brought and the προεστώς likewise offers prayers and thanksgivings.

It is significant in this connection that the New Testament Epistles are also constructed in a framework of thanksgiving, prayer, doxology and benediction. The three opening chapters of I Thess. are interwoven into the sections of thanksgiving and prayer which are used in the Pauline Epistles. The whole doctrinal portion of Ephesians is the outpouring of doxology, prayer, thanksgiving and again doxology. So too when present in the spirit with the Colossians, the Apostle communicates his profoundest Christological teaching in the form of thanksgiving and prayer. Von Soden has emphasized the liturgical character of these two Epistles. It is in fact a characteristic of all the Epistles and of the Revelation.[31] We may also be reminded in the compressed opening references to the Old Testament and Gospel foundation of the teaching which follows in the Epistles, *e. g.*, Romans, Titus, Hebrews, cp. I Peter 1, 10–12 of the Anagnosis of I Tim. 4, 13 and the introductory reading of the Old Testament and Memoirs of the Apostles, mentioned by Justin. Following this both in the Church service and in the Epistles, are the two broadly marked forms of instruction: teaching on matters related to the fundamental faith, and exhortation to a Christian life under the inspiration of the Christian hope and in the fellowship of the Church.[32]

[31] Lindsay, *op. cit.*, p. 45, in accord with Weizsäcker, II, p. 260, believes 'the author of the Apocalypse used the outline of the Christian worship of the earliest age as the canvas on which he painted his glorious prophetic visions.'

[32] Deissmann's decision in *Bible Studies*, 49 ff. that Hebrews and the Catho-

The relation of this establishment, whether by personal ministry on epistle, to the original confirmation of faith may be recognized, next, in connection with the needs, occasions and general means of the establishment. There was obvious need of a continued firm grasp and of an increasing appropriation of the significance and power of the redemptive facts and truths in which the disciples had professed belief at baptism; that they should advance unto all riches of the full assurance of understanding, unto direct apprehension of the mystery of God, even Christ, Col. 2, 2. Equally constant was their need of establishment in a life of Christian duty summed up in, 'Love is the fulfilling of the law'; that this love should abound yet more and more in the sphere of direct apprehension and in every form of perception, and that they should thus be filled with the fruit of righteousness, Php. 1, 9 ff. And establishment was especially needed in their life of patient hope of consummated salvation at their Lord's coming. As the hope of salvation was central in their religious life: the outgrowth of their faith and the animation of love and duty, it is naturally a most prominent aim of the New Testament στηριγμός. Every writer reflects this aim that is revealed in the closing prayer of Romans: that ye may abound in hope. In organic relation with these three needs, one other is apparent: to be established corporately in the life of Christian fellowship in the Church's ministry, sacraments, worship and work in the Lord.

lic Epistles or some of them are not real letters, as those of Paul, but tractates, treatises in form of letters, booklets for the general Christian public, or 'literary epistles,' might be modified by the above view that the essential characteristic of a New Testament letter is not simply an intimate personal communication to a definite destination; but a communication to Christians who recognize the ministry of the writers, containing such instruction and exhortation as would be given by the writers if they were personally present at the Church service. The Catholic Epistles are no more proved to be treatises instead of letters by reason of variety of destination, than do the encyclicals to the Galatians and Ephesians cease to be real letters, on account of a similar variety of destination. All of them are, though in part doctrinal, exhortations on the topics and in the method which is found in the hortatory sections of the Paulines. Hebrews, as regards structure, is no more a literary oration on the plane of 4 Maccabees than is Romans. Its main literary divisions are in marked correspondence to those of Romans: Heb. 1, 1–4, O. T. and Gospel basis to Rom. 1, 1–4; 1, 5–10, 18, doctrinal didaskalia to Rom. 1, 16–11, 36; 10, 19–13, 17, paraklesis to Rom. 12, 1–15, 13; 13, 18–25, personal communications, salutations, etc., to Rom. 15, 14–16, 27.

All these abiding needs are interrelated in the actual development of Christian life. Hence while the New Testament writers are ordinarily concerned with meeting some one of them or special phases of them, yet even in such cases the general needs are kept in view and a general establishment in stedfastness at the center and focus of life is aimed at. They are for the most part mentioned together in the various familiar summaries of the aims of the exhortations and prayers in the Epistles. The readers of Jude in order to meet the false teachings denounced, need, vs. 20, to build themselves upon their most holy faith; to worship in the Holy Spirit; to keep themselves in the love of God; and to await the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ unto eternal life. The believers in Heb. 10, 19, already possessing entrance into the holiest by the High Priesthood of Christ, need to draw near in the full assurance of faith confirmed in baptism; in holding on without wavering to the confession of the hope of salvation, resting on the fidelity of God to fulfill his promise; in mutual stirring up to love and good works; and along with these, by continuing to assemble in Christian worship for mutual exhortation and strengthening. The rest of the Epistle directly develops these four needs of establishment. The disciples in Thessalonica, are standing in the Lord by faith, I Thess. 3, 7–10; and Paul's prayer is that by his personal ministry he may perfect what is lacking, *τὰ ὑστερήματα*, in their faith; and that the Lord himself would cause them to abound in love and establish them in holiness until His Parousia, the object of their hope; and after developing this walk in love supported by the eschatological hope, 4, 11–5, 11, he exhorts concerning the Church fellowship in 5, 11–22. Even in the exalted free movement of the devotional form of Colossians, it is noticeable that the doctrinal establishment against the false teaching, 1, 14–23, is interwoven with his thanksgiving for the readers' stedfastness in faith, love and hope under the ministry of Epaphras, vss. 3–8, and with his prayer, vss. 9–13, for their advance in fruitfulness in the walk of love, their growth in the *ἐπίγνωσις* of God, their continuous strengthening unto all patience of hope, and for their joy and thanksgiving in the interitance and fellowship in the kingdom of God's Son.

Establishment in these fundamental features by the normal upbuilding of a Christian life that was standing and strengthened

in the Lord and in the power of his might, and that was watching in all perseverance and in united prayers, praise and thanksgivings, Eph. 6, 20.18; 5, 19, was provided for in the Church worship, teaching and work under the local ministry. The Thessalonian clergy, I Thess. 5, 14, are to admonish the disorderly, encourage the fainthearted, to support the weak, to be longsuffering toward all, as Timothy is also to minister, II Tim. 4, 2, and as earlier the Ephesian elders are urged to support the weak, Acts 20, 35. But in that address and in the exhortations to pastoral ministrations in the Epistles a further need of establishment by reason of perversions of the faith, hindrances to the walk in love, strains upon the Christian hope or even denials of it, breaches in the life of fellowship, by reason of attacks from within and from without. The historical occasions of these are to be considered later. But we may at once observe that the method of meeting these attacks is from the fixed standing ground of the original apologia of the Gospel witness accepted and confirmed in the full assurance of faith. The Epistles are addressed to believers who accept this basis of argument. We find in them therefore no renewal of the original defense of the Gospel and no vindication of any of the forms of its witness. They are directed against teachings which are shown to be false because they involve a denial of the real nature, implications and consequences of the acknowledged Gospel facts and their relation to human salvation; and because they threaten, instead of establishment in plerophoria, a shipwreck concerning the faith.

Thus the Galatians are removing to another Gospel, are hindered from obeying the truth; yet there is no repetition or defense of the original Gospel and its message of salvation, but an effort to establish them in it by proving that their willingness to seek salvation by legalistic obedience, nullifies that Gospel; sets aside the grace of God; implies that Christ died for nought; causes them to be severed from Christ, Gal. 2, 21; 5, 4. The denial of a general resurrection, I Cor. 15, 12 ff., is confuted by showing it to involve denial of Christ's resurrection, the falsity of the Apostolic witness to it, and the nullity of the Christian's faith in his forgiveness: all of which contradicts the profoundest Christian consciousness and professed belief. The readers of Hebrews are,

from some still debated cause, discouraged, if not wavering; and probably concerning the Christian hope of the return of the invisible Messiah. They again have need to learn the fundamental elements of the beginning of the oracles of God, 5, 12. Yet the writer does not teach them; but instead establishes them by his long discourse and difficulty of interpretation, concerning the heavenly priesthood of Christ based on the accepted Gospel of Christ's divine sonship, 1, 1 ff. incarnation, redemptive death and resurrection, 2, 5–18, and especially on his heavenly exaltation in accordance with Ps. 110 which closes the Old Testament quotations in chapter 1, and of which the section 4, 14–10, 18 f. is his exposition. Again, the Colossian heresy is met by presenting the fuller development of the Christ's sonship, supremacy, sole mediatorship and redemption, in accordance with the word of the truth of the Gospel that is present with them, 1, 5. The errorists in I John are likewise opposed by a confident appeal to what the faithful heard from the beginning, 2, 24, and to their original Christian experience, vss. 12–14. Those who teach a docetic Christ, 2, 22; 4, 2 f., deny that Jesus is the Christ; deny the Father and the Son. To whatever date II Peter is assigned, it follows the primitive mode of maintaining disciples in their stedfastness and growth in the grace and knowledge of Christ, 3, 17 f. This was not by the method of a new and advancing apologetic, but by 'stirring up their sincere mind by putting them in remembrance' of the Old Testament prophecies and of the commandment of the Lord through the Apostles, 3, 1 ff.; although they know them and are established in the truth that is in them, 1, 12 and the pll. Jude, vs. 5.

This constant method of appeal in the Epistles to the original Apostolic witness of the Gospel, recalls the special aim and character of the written Gospels in reference to the establishment of the faith. The Epistles range in date from 50 to 90 A. D. They of course refer to the fact of the rejection of the Gospel as well known to the readers; yet do not state or discuss any of the direct attacks upon it, which were current and constant. They do not reveal that their readers are affected by such direct attacks. They manifest no tendency to create, strengthen or develop a new apologetic; nor do they know of any proof different

from that of the propaganda which we find in the earliest period in the Acts.

These Epistles, the recognized records of the period during which it is alleged by Baldensperger, Weinel and Wernle that there was a constantly developing and freely creative Gospel apologetic, fail to furnish any support for that theory. The attacks on the Gospel preaching obviously demanded and received an apologetic which could not wait for the composition of written Gospels, after Christianity had spread from Jerusalem to Rome. For the attack began with the earliest Apostolic preaching, even with Christ's preaching. The defense therefore had to be made at once; and made too against the whole line of objection which would as readily occur to, and be urged by, opponents of the first generation, as by those of any succeeding generation. And this defence had thus to be made in connection with the initial preaching of the Oral Gospel, in synagogue debates and in the catechesis of converts in the words and deeds of Jesus. The Epistles are addressed to those who had certitude of faith in the validity of this apologia. It is not renewed or developed but relied upon as the foundation for establishment against any renewals of direct attacks and also against forms of indirect attacks which would ultimately subvert the truth of the accepted Gospel and the Christian life of standing in the faith. That Oral Gospel and instruction had, however, a far wider range of interests than that of a defensive apologetic; and our written Gospels are not mere reproductions of its original apologetic element; do not contain it fully, much less creatively develop it; and are not dominantly apologetic, both because they contain so much else besides an apologetic element, and because they are all written for those who are already believers. Like our Epistles they are written primarily for establishment of these believers, not only in matters of faith in Christ, but also in the Christian walk in love, in the hope of salvation and in the fellowship in the Kingdom of grace. Each Evangelist with his gift of 'inspiration of selection,' and meeting the distinct needs of his readers, presents from the witness of Christ's own life, teaching and work, the portions of that self-revelation which will keep them in their stedfastness and full assurance amid the temptations, attacks, errors and persecutions surrounding them.

The historical occasions for this establishment and the definite means of effecting it, can be considered in a survey of the external attacks of the Jews and of the heathen State; and of the internal attacks by Judaizers, and at the other extreme by Jewish Christian gnostics.

CHAPTER VI

ESTABLISHMENT AGAINST EXTERNAL OPPOSITIONS

1. THE JEWISH ATTACKS

THE Cross is the monument of Jewish rejection of the Gospel in the person of its first Preacher. The Church of the Gentiles is the monument of their rejection of it as preached by the Church of the Apostles, and of their expulsion of it from the Jewish national life. The New Testament has familiarized the world with the history of their opposition. As their original polemic in the ministry of Christ has already been considered, we need only briefly recall the occasions and lines of their constant attack in the Apostolic age.

In the Sermon on the Mount, Christ pointed to the original and abiding character of that attack. The Jews saw in him a man who was destroying the law and the prophets. To them he seemed to be repudiating the messianic ideals of those prophets and attempting to abolish the religious and national institutions of Mosaism. In his Sermon he at once refutes the charge with the assertion: I came not to destroy but to fulfill.[1] He fulfills the prophets, since he brings in his life and work the fullness of the messianic promises of redemption in the kingdom; and he completes the law both by revealing its deepest meaning as the expression of the divine will, and also by his own perfect obedience to it in its absolute meaning. But to men blind to this revelation of the Christus consummator, his personal character and work became inevitably the object of his opponents' attack. We have previously found that there may possibly be an allusion to the slander concerning his birth in the boast of the Jewish rulers: we were not born of fornication, John, 8, 41; his provenance from Galilee was exploited both as tainting him with its half-heathen associations, and more definitely as in contradiction of the ex-

[1] The passage Mtw. 5, 17–19 is discussed in connection with the principal recent views by C. W. Votaw, *H. D. B.*, V, pp. 22–25.

pectation of Messiah's origin in Bethlehem, John, 7, 41 f. His sympathy with the outcast was the basis of charges that he too was a sinner, a gluttonous man and a wine-bibber. His undeniable miracles were turned into proofs that he broke the law of the Sabbath, was in league with Satan, had a demon.

As W. Richmond has shown in his study of the Fourth Gospel,[2] Christ's defense against all such attacks, necessitated a distinct self-assertion of his Person and claims. Yet these self-assertions evoked finally the charge that he was a blasphemer in claiming messianic authority for a ministry and teaching which they found abhorrent, and in basing this messianic authority on the claim of being God's own Son. To his opponents, all their attacks seemed to be justified by his death on the Cross amid their taunts: he trusteth on God; let him deliver him, if he desireth him. The Cross would further make incredible to them any reports of a resurrection, even if supported by inexplicable facts. To the Sadducees the idea of resurrection was in itself impossible; equally impossible to the Pharisees was the thought of a resurrection which involved the death of Messiah, contradictory to their understanding of the Old Testament prophecies. We should therefore expect that the preaching of the resurrection of Jesus would evoke at once determined attack by the Jewish opponents, especially as it included a renewal of Christ's own teachings and claims in his ministry. Yet we are confronted with the fact that, with the exceptions that will be considered, Christianity was openly preached in Jerusalem from the Day of Pentecost until the murder of James the Brother of the Lord, near the outbreak of the Jewish revolution.

This glorification of one who was crucified as a blasphemer, would seem to be an equal blasphemy; and therefore the toleration in Jerusalem of the constantly repeated Apostolic witness to the facts and issues of the resurrection is significant. It indicates that the rulers can bring forward to Jewish inquirers who have every interest to know the full truth, no rebutting facts that would satisfactorily account otherwise for the open grave, the empty tomb, the undisturbed grave cloths, the vanished body. Gamaliel and the Pharisees in the Sanhedrin a quarter of a century later, refer to no opposing fact; and at the council in Jerusalem we hear that Pharisees have become converts. There are, however,

[2] See p. 29, note 2.

three attempts to throttle the new movement: by the Sadducees, the Pharisees, and by the Herodian King Agrippa I.

The inaction of the Sadducean rulers at the Pentecost renewal of the messianic movement might be partly accounted for as a politic non-interference lest there should be an uproar among the favorably excited multitude. And for a period it might be ignored as it was clearly not a political but a religious movement marked by strictest Jewish loyalty and by highest type of Jewish piety. The first attack was occasioned by the new stage of evangelization in Acts 3. This we have seen was a renewed effort to win converts from among those who while holding the disciples in favor, withheld their own allegiance partly by unwillingness to fulfill the religious conditions; and probably more largely because their ignorance of the Old Testament teaching of a suffering messiah prejudiced them against the validity of the other forms of witness for the truth of the Gospel. Hence the emphasis in Peter's discourse on the prophecies of a suffering messiah which the Jews and their rulers fulfilled in ignorance; next the significance of the miracle of healing as a manifestation of the spiritual gift of the Apostles received from the risen Jesus; and still more definitely the preaching of the power of his resurrection life as the sole source of salvation, 3, 26; 4, 12, thus raising the question of the relation of the Gospel and Mosaism as means of redemption.

The sermon thus centering on the resurrection as prediction, historic fact, source of the gift of miraculous power, of salvation and of a general resurrection, 4, 2, while it increased the number of converts to five thousand, inevitably provoked also the challenge of the Sadducean party as to the source and character of the healing of the lame man, upon which this preaching of the resurrection was based. It is met directly by the ascription of the miracle to the invocation of the risen Jesus and by the proclamation of the fulfillment of his own prediction to the rulers: the stone set at nought of the builders is become the head of the corner. The manifested power of the glorified Christ in the life and ministry of his Church is the final witness, completing all the other forms of witness. While there could be no denial of the fact and power of the miracle, the opponents refuse as in their earlier rejection of the divine witness in Jesus' ministry, to recognize its spiritual significance as a manifestation of the power of

Christ's resurrection life. Their only answer to the preaching of the resurrection is to dismiss the Apostles with threats and a command of silence.

And when this first attack leads to a new outburst of Christian zeal and to successful propaganda accompanied by spiritual gifts of healing, the arrest of all the Apostles is again followed by their proclamation of the resurrection, exaltation and redemptive heavenly ministry of Christ, witnessed by them and by the gift of the Holy Spirit to believers, 5, 30 ff. Again there is no opposing argument and no allegation of facts which would controvert Gamaliel's counsel of inaction. The Apostles though scourged for their disobedience to the command of silence which is now repeated, ceased not to preach both in the Temple and privately that the Christ is Jesus.

Gamaliel's advice reveals the distinct policy of the pharisaic party in this Sadducean first attack on the issue of the resurrection. It was not a policy of indifference to the spread of a messianic movement nor to its preaching of resurrection. They were of course interested in both. But they refuse to accept or to condemn the Gospel propaganda on the issue of the resurrection of Jesus. They will not agree that the Apostles' testimony to the fact of the empty tomb, the appearances, or their claim of gifts of the Spirit from the risen Jesus, prove his resurrection. And this, not because it was incredible that God should raise the dead, but because it was incredible both that God should raise one who to them was a blasphemer, and also from their understanding of the Old Testament, that he would permit the Christ to die. Nor on the other hand will they agree to put the Apostles to death on the Sadducean ground of the impossibility of any resurrection; or in the absence, so far as appears, of direct attack upon the Apostolic testimony and upon the reality of their spiritual experiences and gifts. 'Whether it be of God,' will be determined for the Pharisees by the tests which time will bring, of the reality of a divine work in this mission. One test will, to the Pharisees, be the continuance of their loyalty to Jewish institutions and of their devotion to Jewish ideals of piety. This the disciples at present exhibit. They formed indeed a new party among the many strange divisions of the Jews of the time; but it was marked by intense devotion to the Old Testament, to the temple worship

and to the hope of a messiah to come in judgment to consummate the kingdom.

The general Jewish attack, in which the Pharisees doubtless joined, was first made when Christianity was suspected to lead to consequences involving disloyalty to Judaism. The bold spirit of Stephen had occasion in the wider theological discussions in the synagogues of the Hellenistic Jews, at which Saul of Tarsus might well be present, to develop the universalistic elements of the Gospel and its true relations to legalism and sacrificial worship. This transpires both from the distorted charges of blasphemous words against Moses' law and customs and of the destruction of the temple, 6, 14,; and equally from Stephen's defense that the religion of Israel began with the promise of universal blessing through Abraham's seed ages before Moses; that in Moses' age, the sanctuaries were outside the Holy Land; that Solomon and Isaiah asserted that heaven was God's true temple; that they and their fathers resisting the Holy Spirit, had not kept the law of Moses, but had rejected him and killed the prophets; as now they had killed the Prophet of whom Moses spoke and the Righteous One of the prophets' predictions: the Son of Man now standing at God's right hand.

That such consequences of Christian teaching would especially arouse pharisaic opposition and impel them to agree to the death of its preacher, is seen in the approving presence of Gamaliel's pupil, Saul of Tarsus, at Stephen's martyrdom, and in the persecution of the Jerusalem Church. Saul's own persecution by the Jews at Damascus and by the Hellenist Jews at Jerusalem, although other Christians were unmolested, indicates that his conversion and his stay in Arabia had resulted in his adoption of Stephen's teaching. The Jewish and Judaistic opposition to it will meet us in the consideration of Paul's mission work.

The third attack came from the Herodian King Agrippa. No definite occasion for it is recorded. From the brief mention that James was killed with the sword, it has been assumed that the persecution was for political reasons rather than on charges of blasphemy or disloyalty to Judaism. The new king is known to have revived and developed the definite Herodian nationalist policy; with this he inherited the Herodian suspicion of the spreading messianic movement, with its possible dangers both for his

own rule and also for the relations between the Jewish State and the Empire. In addition, however, to political motives in thus attacking the organization by the murder of its prominent leaders, Agrippa would no doubt sympathize with the general Jewish attitude at this time towards the Church. He has been called 'a model of Pharisaic piety'; and it is possible, in view of the statement that his persecution pleased the Jews, that his attack may also have been connected with Pharisaic and general Jewish indignation that the Jerusalem Church, cp. Acts 8–11, was countenancing the admission into Jewish Christian fellowship, not only of the hated Samaritans but even of the heathen Greeks of Antioch. But after the king's death we hear no more of persecutions at Jerusalem, where, 21, 20, the many thousands of Jewish believers are all zealous for the law; and where they repudiated a Christianity which would teach to Jews apostasy from Moses, as Paul was alleged to preach. It should not be overlooked that even at Paul's arrest, no attack was made on the Jerusalem Church.

Freedom from further Palestinian Jewish attack points both to Sadducean failure to prevent the preaching of Jesus and the resurrection, and to the zealous loyalty to Judaism and the Jewish State, of the mass of Palestinian Christians. But whenever in Jerusalem and wherever in Paul's preaching in the Dispersion, that zeal was suspected, all the objections of unbelieving and relatively tolerant Jews burst forth. Thus in the South Galatian cities, 13, 45, upon Paul's preaching in the synagogue crowded with the heathen come to hear his second sermon in which as in the climax of the first sermon, vs. 38 f., he would develop the universalism of the Gospel and its emanicipation from legalism, the Jews were filled with ζήλος. This is more in this connection than the 'envy' of the Authorized Version. It is the 'jealousy' of the Revised Versions, and definitely a zeal for God: for God's faithfulness to his promises to his elect nation observing his law. It is jealousy and zeal for the divine privileges of Israel. Paul's preaching, they are convinced, ignores and denies them. Filled with this zeal, 'they denied the things spoken by Paul and blasphemed.' Now the main portion of the reported speech, as was fitting to the occasion, was the meaning of the Old Testament messianic prophecy and its fulfillment in Jesus. Their denial therefore would most naturally refer to their denial of the witness

of prophecy. And their blasphemy likewise would apply to the Apostle's presentation of the witness of Christ's life and resurrection, cp. Knowling, *βλασφημοῦντες* nomen Christi, and would be a renewal of the usual Jewish attacks upon it. In the Corinthian synagogue also, 18, 6, the result of his customary preaching to Jews and Greeks was the same exhibition of Jewish zeal: they opposed and blasphemed. From the immediate context it again appears that their opposition was to his interpretation of messianic prophecy; and their blaspheming was against Paul's claim that the Christ of prophecy was the Jesus whose life, teachings and resurrection he preached to them.[3] Their zeal, as here in Corinth, in South Galatia and as expressly stated, in Thessalonica, led also to denunciations of the Apostle to the civil authorities on the charge of law breaking or disloyalty, which will be considered later.

The attacks of the Dispersion Jews are the repetition of the original and constant Jewish attacks upon the Gospel. All the essential features of Jewish opposition to Christ were already present and had been urged against him in his lifetime, as was discussed in connection with Polemic in the Gospel. They are all presupposed by his crucifixion. In the Apostolic preaching of the resurrection, the difficulties of belief in it were obvious to the Jews at its first proclamation. There was no occasion as Baldensperger assumes in his *Urchristliche Apologie* for Jewish unbelievers gradually to present new arguments against it, to be met as gradually by newly invented proofs. The three attacks on the Jerusalem Church were the outgrowths of the original and persistent rejection and calumniation of the Gospel of Jesus and his resurrection and of the *αἵρεσις* of his disciples, by the ruling classes. The advance of the mission to the Jewish dispersion, with the bold preaching of the universalism of the Gospel salvation, was met at once by the contradiction and blasphemy current in Palestinian Judaism. Dispersion Jews might have some acquaintance with it from their attendance at the Jerusalem festivals; but we learn

[3] The additions in D to the text of both these passages are based on a similar understanding of the Jews' attack. 13, 45 is introduced with *πολύν τε λόγον ποιησαμένου περὶ τοῦ κυρίου*; in 18, 5 after *τὸν Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, πολλοῦ δὲ λόγου γενομένου καὶ γραφῶν διερμηνευομένων* is inserted before vs. 6.

from Justin Martyr and Eusebius of their equipment for opposition by an official counter mission from Jerusalem before its fall.[4] We know of Saul's Jewish mission against Christians in strange cities. Some ten years later he himself experiences a definite Jewish denunciation of his Gospel in distant Galatia; later a well-organized attack at the beginnings of his work in Thessalonica; and at Rome he hears from the Jewish officials that the Christian sect is everywhere spoken against. These continuous attacks illustrate Justin's statement to the Jew Trypho, c. 117, 'that the high priests of the Jews and their teachers have caused the name of the Son of God to be profaned and blasphemed in every land'; and this, c. 17, 'by sending chosen men saying that a godless and lawless party of Christians had appeared: disciples of a Galilean deceiver, πλάνος, who stole his crucified body by night from the tomb and deceive men by asserting that he is risen and ascended.' These 'appointed' Jewish missionaries further claim that the Galilean 'taught the godless, lawless and unholy doctrines which the Jews urge against those who confess him to be Christ, teacher from God and Son of God.' Eusebius, quoting from writings of the ancients, more definitely reports that Jewish priests and elders sent 'apostles' with formal letters to Jews of every country calumniating the preaching concerning our Saviour, τὸν περὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος λόγον, commanding Jews not to receive it, and slandering the teaching of Christ as a αἵρεσις, new and alien to God.'

These thorough-going attacks on the fundamental faith by Jerusalem and Dispersion Jews had to be met at once in the apologetic element of the mission preaching; and as we have seen by the general method of exposition of messianic prophecy as pointing to the suffering and exaltation of messiah; of showing thereupon that this Christ is Jesus, with the manifold forms of witness in his life and ministry, with the witness of his resurrection from the Scriptures, the Apostolic testimony and the sending of the Spirit as a gift of a new redeemed life in believers and as the source of their spiritual gifts. All necessary details of this apologia would naturally be developed in the preparation of converts for admission to Church fellowship. Their acceptance of baptism and the accompanying direct certitude of faith, βεβαίωσις, shows

[4] The texts from Justin's *Dialogue with Trypho*, cc. 17.108.117 and from Eusebius on Isaiah 18, 1 are given by Harnack, *Mission*, etc., I., 58 f.

that the Jewish attacks on the fundamentals of faith had been convincingly repelled by the defense of the Gospel.

The further establishment of faith has been shown to be not a renewed and advancing apologetic against the persistent denials of it, but against various forms of perversion of it. One such special need of establishment arose in connection with the Jewish difficulty which has been presented as the source of Pharisaic persecution in Jerusalem and of the denial in the Dispersion synagogues of Christian messianism and of Jesus' messiahship. It was their zeal for the divine privileges of Israel. Stephen's and Paul's universal Gospel seemed in its consequences to involve a denial of the fidelity of God to his promises to Israel. When it came to a conflict between that fidelity and any other teaching or gospel 'let God be true and every man a liar.' In Paul's direct grappling with this difficulty he bears fervent witness to the Jews that they have a zeal for God, but not according to knowledge, Rom. 10, 1 f. He therefore will establish the Romans by devoting the most profound chapters of his epistle, 9–11, to the problem of the election of Israel to the sevenfold glories which he names as he begins, and as the crown of all: Israelites, of whom is Christ as concerning the flesh, who is over all, God blessed for ever. The genius of F. C. Baur and the penetrating insight of Dr. Hort recognized the fundamental importance of these chapters in Paul's establishment of Christian faith. It is quite true as Sanday objects that they are not the heart of the Epistle, which is Chapter 8 with its positive statement of the life of justification by faith. They do not form the climax to which the rest of the Letter is an introduction, especially if the Letter is viewed with Baur as a polemic against Roman Judaizing Christians. But they are aimed at the heart of Jewish attack on the Gospel. They are of primary importance for the New Testament claim of the continuity of revelation in the law and prophets and Gospel. Sanday's conclusion, *Romans*, p. xlv, that the section treats of 'a problem which belongs rather to the circumference of St. Paul's thought than to the center,' is unassailable if the basis of the comparison is the essential relation of the center and circumference, but not if it meant to suggest the distance of the teaching of these chapters from the central thought of the Apostle. Something of this last suggestion seems to be implied in his accompanying

statement that 'it is not so much a part of his fundamental teaching as a consequence arising from its collision with an unbelieving world'; although to this must be added his final summary of the chapters, p. li, as tracing the method and plan of the purpose of God 'to sum up all things in Christ.'

The Apostle's sense of the fundamental importance of the problem is seen in the fact that he states it in the opening of the third chapter before proceeding to his intervening six chapters on justification by faith; and completes the teaching of those chapters by the exposition of his Christian philosophy of God's eternal purpose of universal redemption, to be realized *κατ' ἐκλογήν*, by the method of election. The Jewish objection he had to meet is: Jewish refusal to accept justification by faith in Christ, involves in Paul's teaching that God has rejected his elect people; that his word of sure mercies and everlasting covenant favor has failed; yes, proves that God is unfaithful to his promise. Evidently the underlying question here, is the real nature of election. The Apostle affirms it in absolute terms. It is an essential principle of the religion of Israel; of the idea of a Church of God: his selection, training and use of men to be his instruments in accomplishing his will that all men should be saved and come to the knowledge of the truth. The nature of election is to be learned from examples of divine elections. It is not mechanical; not a matter of mere physical descent, as is witnessed in the election of Isaac, although Ishmael too is Abraham's son. Nor is it based on human merit of works, in view of the pre-natal election of Jacob instead of Esau. Elections and rejections depend on the sovereign grace of God who chooses Moses and overrules hardened Pharaoh and hardened Israel as instruments to work out the eternal purpose which is accomplished by this method of choice, *ἡ κατ' ἐκλογὴν πρόθεσις τοῦ θεοῦ.*

There is, however, no injustice in these elections and rejections in view of his longsuffering which enables him to reveal the wealth of his glory on vessels of mercy, believing Jews and Gentiles to whom the Gospel came by reason of Jewish rejection and persecution of it. The cause of the partial and temporary rejection of Israel is their zeal, without knowledge, for righteousness by mosaic legalism; which renders them deaf to Christ's Gospel of universal salvation. Yet the rejected portion of Israel will at

length be saved by means of the elect remnant. For it is predisposed for re-engrafting into spiritual Israel, because still possessing the zeal for God, of the root and first fruits of the patriarchs' devotion. When the fullness of the Gentiles is come, the heathen world's conversion to Israel's God by the Gospel which came to them upon Israel's rejection of it, will 'provoke Israel to jealousy.' They will have a new zeal for God thus witnessing to the Gospel as the power of the world's salvation; will themselves accept that Gospel, and thus by God's redeeming methods of elections, all Israel shall be saved.

Thus were the Roman Christians established in faith against this Jewish attack caused by blind zeal for God. But while they were reading the Epistle, its writer was journeying towards Jerusalem where this Jewish zeal would seek his life from the Roman State.

2. THE CONFLICT WITH THE STATE

The conflict of Christianity and the Roman State in the period covered by the Gospels and Acts, is presented in the New Testament as due to Jewish attack and instigation. The apologists of the second and third centuries likewise ascribe later persecution to Jewish denunciation. Their charge is summed up in Tertullian's statement, *Scorpiace* 10: synagogas Judæorum fontes persecutionum. In the concluding section of Acts, their lawyer Tertullus presents to the Procurator Felix the strongest Jewish case against the Apostle whom they hate for his preaching of universal salvation and freedom from legalism. He adroitly formulates four charges under which the religious controversy is presented as a case affecting Roman law and administration, 24, 1 ff. Paul is first denounced as to his personal character. He is λοιμός: a pest, and as such spreading social disorder, for the repression of which, Felix had received the flattering exordium of vs. 2 f. Next, his propaganda is a stirring up of dissensions or tumults, στάσεις, among the Jews throughout the world. It was a repetition of the charge at Thessalonica, 17, 6, of being disturbers of law and order in the Roman Empire: of 'turning the world upside down,' ἀναστατώσαντες. And here too it is followed by a charge intimating disloyalty to Rome: he is a ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes, whose leader was crucified for sedition. Finally he had attempted to profane the Temple; thus defying the

imperial sanction and privileges of Judaism as a religio licita, and thereby proving that his sect had no share in the Roman recognition and protection of Israel's religion.

These charges made midway in the Apostolic Age offer a convenient basis for the consideration of the establishment of the faith in conflicts with the State. They sum up the charges made to Roman officials in the constant Jewish attacks upon the Apostle in the mission field. In their range and connection they embrace the outstanding topics of the later charges in the State persecutions: personal crimes, contempt for law and established social order, disloyalty to the Imperial government and to the State religion. They already suggest the familiar later terms: the *flagitia* and *odium humani generis*, in Tacitus, *Ann.* 15, 44; the *genus hominum superstitionis novæ ac maleficæ*, in Suetonius, *Nero*, 16. They are reflected in Tertullian's expostulation: 'you consider a Christian to be a man guilty of all crimes; an enemy of the gods, emperors, laws, morality and of all nature,' *Apol.*, 2. And they are especially significant as they substantially repeat the Jewish charges against Christ before Pilate. It has often been pointed out that Luke recognizes this fact, in view of the parallels in the literary structure of his accounts of the trials of Jesus and of his Apostle.

The crucifixion of Christ under Pontius Pilate and Paul's appeal to Cæsar for judgment on the Jewish charges against him, bear witness to the inevitableness of an ultimate conflict, under the historic conditions, between the Gospel and the Roman State. Christianity was born into a religious-political problem. Messiah and kingdom are terms exploited both by the Sanhedrin at Pilate's judgment seat and the Jews before the politarchs of Thessalonica, as charged with political significance and references. These references range from the materialistic ideals of the Zealots, down through the Pharisaic conceptions, to the spiritualized messianism of the Quiet in the Lord, as expressed in the Magnificat and Benedictus. Here, messianic redemption includes 'scattering the proud, putting down potentates, exalting humbled and suffering Israel; salvation from our enemies, that we might serve God in holiness and righteousness under the coming messianic king.' Throughout his ministry Christ was transforming even this spiritualized messianism in his preaching of the kingdom and in

making known its mysteries. The beatitudes of the Sermon on the Mount reveal the true ideal of the kingdom. But the inevitable conflict with the kingdoms of the world, already foreshadowed in the third temptation, is declared in the beatitude on those who are persecuted for righteousness' sake and for Christ's sake. The relation of his disciples to the State was fixed for them in his own example and teaching. There must be recognition, loyalty and support of the State: render unto Cæsar the things that be Cæsar's. Equally, is his command of absolute devotion to the things of God. Along with this two-fold relation and duty, he gives on the same day a direct prediction of a conflict in fulfilling it. "Ye shall be brought before governors and kings for my sake," Mk. 13, 9. And under this persecution, they must submit: 'in your patience ye shall win your souls,' Lk. 21, 19. Most directly, however, does he reveal the relation of his kingdom to the State, when he is himself brought before the Roman governor. 'Art thou a king? Thou sayest that I am a king. To this end was I born that I should bear witness to the truth. My kingdom is not of this world,' John 18, 36 ff. And in 19, 11 in reply to Pilate's claim of authority he asserts 'the real relation of the civil and theocratic powers: Pilate's judgment was legally decisive; but his right to exercise authority was derived, not inherent. Human government is only valid as the expression of the divine will. He who exercises it is responsible to a higher power.' [5]

Before considering the attitude of the Apostolic Church to the State as based on these principles, reference must be made to the persistent claim that the New Testament account of conflicts with the Empire is not a historical picture, but is constructed with an apologetic aim. It is asserted that in order to defend Christianity from the suspicion of being a revolutionary movement, since the crucifixion proclaims the fact that its leader was executed by the Romans for sedition, the history of the passion in the Gospels and Acts has been framed so as to excuse the Romans, thus winning the favor of Roman officials; and so as to make Pilate a witness to Christ's innocence, thus freeing his followers from suspicion of disloyalty. This view is stated in general terms by Canney, *Enc.*

[5] Westcott, *Gospel accdg. to St. John, in loc.* See also his essay in *Epistles of St. John,* The Two Empires: The Church and the World, pp. 249 ff.; and Sanday-Headlam, *Romans,* pp. 369 ff., The Church and the Civil Power.

Biblica, 4160 f., and is summarized more definitely by Weinel:[6] "Especially in the Third Gospel and Acts are found declarations that were clearly to protect Christianity against accusations of a revolutionary disposition and attitude." In Acts we have "not the picture of history, but the tendency to prove to the higher circles of Romans for whom Luke has intended his book, that the first Roman officials with whom Christianity came in contact . . . fully recognized its harmlessness for the State."

Against the assumption underlying this view, that the Third Gospel and Acts are apologies to the heathen, we again recall the fact that they are not addressed to unbelievers, but are written for the establishment of the faith of disciples. Further, an examination of the unquestioned facts reveals no occasion for such an apologetic tendency as is alleged. Neither before nor after the crucifixion, did the Romans regard Christianity as a seditious movement. Pilate was in office from the ministry of the Baptist until the death of Stephen. He would have full information concerning the ministry of Christ, yet never interfered with him. Even after the crucifixion he ignored the preaching of the Apostles. His attitude is expressed by the title on the Cross. It was the Roman official's mockery and contempt both for the Jewish teacher and for the Jewish messianic hope and religion. He could scorn a movement opposed by all classes of Jews in authority; by the Jerusalem crowds, who would be the most intense nationalists; by the pilgrim hosts who were listless; and by Herod, whose mockery of Christ with a royal robe expressed not only the Tetrarch's scorn of Christ's person, but also of the political significance of the movement. Pilate's successor Festus takes the same position. He speaks of the dispute concerning the resurrection, Acts 25, 19, as merely 'concerning a certain Jesus who is dead whom Paul affirmed to be alive.' To him the Jewish charges do not involve disloyalty to Rome, but are 'questions concerning their own superstition.' So Gallio at Corinth, Tacitus and Suetonius at Rome. Christianity was not persecuted as a revolutionary movement, but as a baleful superstition.

The Evangelists had therefore no occasion to disarm Roman suspicion of the disciples' loyalty; nor do they betray an apolo-

[6] *Bib. Theologie des N. T.*, § 93. Die Apologetik gegen das Heidenthum und den Staat, besonders bei Lukas, 445 f.

getic tendency, increasing from Mark onwards, to excuse Pilate and win Roman favor. The stress, in the narratives of the trial, is on the Jews' rejection of their Messiah, even when Pilate was willing to release Jesus. In Mark's very abridged account the two controlling interests are, first, Pilate's mockery of the charge of sedition by his scornful use of the title 'King of the Jews' as addressed to Jesus, 15, 2, and twice to the crowds, vss. 9 and 12; and, second, in the principal section, 6–15, the Jews' choice of a murderer in preference to their Christ, in response to the Procurator's first offer to release Jesus according to the custom of the feast, and their demand for his crucifixion in reply to the question, 'what evil hath he done.'

In Luke's use of this condensed Markan narrative, he adds in 23, 2, the meaning of the charge 'King of the Jews': perverting the nation, forbidding tribute and claiming to be Messiah, a king. As introductory to the Herod section taken from his special source L, a section "which ought never to have been suspected by a sane criticism," Moffatt, *D. C. G.*, II, 755 a, Luke reports from L. vs. 14,[7] Pilate's declaration of his conviction of Christ's innocence, which is involved in Mk. 15, 9.14. The Barabbas passage is abbreviated from Mark, and with no additions or heightening of Pilate's statements of Christ's innocence. To his two professions, the one involved in Mk. 15, 9 f. and the other made in Mk. vs. 14, Luke has added another at the conclusion of the Herod section, vs. 14; and he therefore states in vs. 22, in reply to the demand for crucifixion, that Pilate has said three times, 'I have found no cause of death in him.' Thus, as was noted in Mark's account, Luke's interest is likewise first, in Pilate's acquittal of Christ of the charge of sedition, which is simply in accordance with his noninterference with the Gospel preaching before and after the crucifixion; and next, specially in the fact of the Jewish rejection of Christ and choice of Barabbas, in the section which is both introduced by and concluded with the description of him as seditious and as a murderer. Luke's definite interest in stating Pilate's threefold profession of Christ's innocence is indicated in the specially emphatic forms of his report of the Jewish repudiation of them. On his first profession, vs. 4, 'they were the more urgent, *ἐπίσχυον*, saying he stirreth up the people.' The word *επίσχυον* is used here only in

[7] B. Weiss, *Quellen d. Lukasevg.*, p. 225.

the New Testament. On the second profession, vs. 18, 'they cried out all together, away with this man.' Ἀνέκραγον is elsewhere used by Luke in 4, 33; 8, 28, of the shrieks of demoniacs, and παυπληθεί is used nowhere else in the Greek Bible. To the third profession 'they were urgent with loud voices' ἐπέκειντο φωναῖς μεγάλαις, for his crucifixion.

In Mtw. 27, 11–14, we find only the usual editorial treatment of the Markan examination passage. In the Barabbas section, the revision of the Markan parallels in vss. 17 and 20, emphasizes the deliberate Jewish choice of Barabbas and demand for Jesus' destruction; and the change in vs. 22 from Mark's 'they cried out, crucify him' to 'they all say, let him be crucified,' shows that the interest of this Evangelist also is in emphasizing a national rejection of the Christ. He omits Mark's description of Barabbas's crimes; but makes two insertions, vss. 19 and 24 ff. Whatever be their source, they serve no apologetic interest in the conflict of the Church and Empire. A dream of Pilate's wife could contribute nothing to the establishment of Christ's innocence. The interest, in narrating Pilate's washing of his hands, is indicated in the reply of 'all the people, πᾶς ὁ λαός, his blood be on us and on our children.' We thus can find in the Synoptics no increasing heightening of the testimony of Pilate to Christ's innocence; no excusing of his cowardice and dishonor as a judge, much less an increasing palliation of it; or any suggestion of an apologetic tendency to remove an assumed Roman suspicion of the treason of Christians, which indeed was not the basis of the State persecution of them.

In the Fourth Gospel we find the same controlling interests as in the Synoptics in recording Pilate's rejections and mockery of the charge of sedition which evoke the Jewish rejection of their Messiah. Three times is recorded Pilate's profession 'I find no crime, αἰτία, in him.' The first is made after his examination of Jesus, 18, 38, when as in Mark he entitles him in scorn of the Jewish charge 'The King of the Jews' and offers to release him after custom. To this the Jewish answer is the refusal of Jesus and the choice of Barabbas, who 'was a robber.' The second profession accompanied with the presentation of the scourged and thorn-crowned Jesus, calls from the Jews the cries 'Crucify' which are met by his repudiation of them because of his third profession, and by his efforts to release him in spite of the Jewish charge of blas-

phemy. His final condemnation of Christ is the result of the Jewish threat of accusation of his own disloyalty. But the Evangelist's interest in 19, 12–15 is clearly not apologetic, since vs. 12 is not a defense of Christian loyalty, but a Jewish denial of it; nor is it in presenting an excuse for Pilate's criminal cowardice; but it is shown in the climax vs. 15, 'the high priests answered, we have no king but Cæsar': the apostasy of the Jewish people in rejecting the Christ. "The sentence 'we have no king but Cæsar' is the formal abdication of the messianic hope. They first rejected Jesus as the Christ, and then, driven by the irony of circumstances, they rejected the Christ altogether," Westcott, *in loc.*

The same absence of apologetic aim is to be noted in the references to the crucifixion in Acts. Of the twelve passages relating to it, two are general statements: whom they killed; who is dead, 10, 39; 25, 19. Five ascribe the crucifixion to the Jews or their rulers, 2, 36; 3, 17; 4, 10; 5, 28.30. Five accuse the Jews in connection with Pilate. Of these 7, 52 states that the Jews were the betrayers, προδόται, *i. e.*, to Pilate, and murderers of Christ. In Pisidian Antioch Paul mentions that the Jerusalem Jews and their rulers asked Pilate that he should be slain, 13, 28. In 4, 27, Herod and Pilate with the Gentiles and the peoples of Israel were gathered together to accomplish God's will. The Jews, 2, 23, killed Christ by the hands of lawless men, or 'men without the law'; in either case no flattering reference or persuasive apologetic to Romans. In only one passage, 3, 15, is it stated that Pilate desired to release Jesus. It is imbedded in a statement, 13 b–15, which is closely parallel to the Markan Barabbas section, Mk. 15, 6–14; and like it, it is interested not in defending Pilate, but in emphasizing in connection with his offer of release of Jesus, the sin of the Jews in rejecting the Holy and Righteous One and in choosing a murderer instead. This then is the direct interest of the references to Christ's death under Pontius Pilate in the Gospels and Acts. They are not a veiled apologetic to secure government favor for Christianity; and surely not a defense or excuse for a procurator who put to death a man whom he believed to be innocent. Pilate's mockings, hesitations, efforts to release and fear of the charge of conniving at sedition, are given as facts which accord perfectly with the historical and personal situation, and which are recorded from the viewpoint of Jewish rejection and murder of their Christ.

In the second part of Acts, Paul's mission and trial brings Christianity into contact with the Empire. Weinel, as has been stated, voices the persistent claim that Luke's account of this subject is controlled by an apologetic interest, in this work alleged to be a defense of the Gospel to the Romans, to present an unhistorical picture of Paul's relations with Roman officials: That they fully recognized the harmlessness of Christianity for the State, and never condemned it upon examination. It was undoubtedly one of Luke's aims to make this presentation of Paul's relations with officials, for the establishment of his Christian readers. But it was a subordinate aim, Moffatt, *Introd.* 303 f.; and neither proves a dominant apologetic interest in the composition of Acts, nor, much less, that in the treatment of this topic it is historically untrustworthy.

It is at once constructive for our understanding of the later chapters of Acts, that from the crucifixion until Paul's arrest in Jerusalem in 58 A. D, there was no interference with Christianity by the Roman officials in Palestine. While Rome granted local government to Jews in Judea, it would nevertheless control action in capital charges and treat directly with sedition and neglected cases of disorder. Outside of Palestine, from Antioch through Asia Minor and Greece, there was likewise no imperial government opposition during the period covered in Acts. This was partly because Christianity appeared as a sect of the religio licita of the Jews; and when repudiated by them, it was treated by the authorities either as a matter for local administion in case disorders were occasioned by it, or as a matter of religious dispute, with which the State would not interfere. But nowhere does Luke betray any tendency to represent local or imperial officers as defending or supporting Christianity. On the contrary, Jewish opposition secures from local rulers Paul's expulsion from Pisidian Antioch and Iconium. The Roman magistrates at Philippi condemn him to be beaten and imprisoned. Their quasi-apology on the next day was not due to any approval of Paul, but to fear of their illegal punishment of a Roman citizen, and it was accompanied by their insistence upon his expulsion. At Thessalonica, Jews secure his expulsion on the charges of disorder and with insinuations of sedition. In view of these four cases of official condemnation in two principal cities both of Asia Minor and Macedon, the three cases of absence

of official condemnation by Gallio, the Asiarchs and Felix, cease to reveal a controlling interest of Acts to claim official support; and especially when they are viewed in their context, details, and evident aims.

The favor of the Pro-consul Sergius Paulus at Paphos has no bearing on the present subject. The attack on the Gospel by Elymas and Paul's defense have no political feature. Sergius's interest is personal and has no apparent influence, as no further work in Cyprus is undertaken. It is, however, claimed that the conduct of certain Asiarchs at Ephesus, 19, 31, betrays Luke's interest to prove official favor for Christianity. But the attack upon Paul is here not political. As at Philippi, it was occasioned by loss of gains and by the complaint that the gospel was contrary to their traditional religious usages and beliefs. Paul is given no opportunity to present or defend his cause. The Asiarchs who besought him not to confront the mob, are simply stated to have been his friends, and not that they were moved by any favoring interest in his Gospel.[8] The town clerk in quieting the mob's complaint, says nothing in favor of Christianity, but instead rings the praises of Ephesian Artemis. In behalf of the two Christians who had been seized, he says only that they are not robbers of temples and not blasphemers of the goddess. His interest as local official is evidently in preserving order, not in vindicating Paul or his preaching; especially as in vs. 40 no legal charge has been made, and Paul's criticism of idol worship against which Demetrius protested, vs. 26, was constantly made with impunity by the wandering popular preachers of the Græco-Roman world. As in Paphos there is no suggestion of any advancement of Christian interests by this attack upon the Apostle. On the contrary it may even be recorded as a hindrance to the cause, if as McGiffert suggests, *Apos. Age*, p. 282, we are to consider Paul to be referring to it in the terms of II Cor. 1, 8 ff.

Some five years earlier occurs in Corinth the only instance in all Paul's missionary work where direct contact with the Imperial government is recorded by Luke, 18, 12 ff. The Apostle is there brought before the pro-consul Gallio by the Jews on the charge of persuading men to worship God contrary to the law. Luke does not exploit Gallio's refusal to hear the case, as any vindication of

[8] Cp. Ramsay, *Church in the Roman Empire*, pp. 130–134.

Paul who is not allowed to speak; or as any official favor or interest in him and his preaching. The case is dismissed because there is no charge of 'wrong against the State or of moral wrong,' Knowling; ἀδίκημά τι ἢ ῥᾳδιούργημα πονηρόν, 'misdemeanor or crime,' Ramsay. The Jewish attack is concerned solely with questions concerning the relation of Paul's preaching to the Jewish religion, and into these Gallio refuses to enter, cp. Festus, 25, 19.[9]

In view therefore of the fact that in these four condemnations of Paul by the local authorities, and in Gallio's dismissal of a case in which no legal charges were presented and in the town clerk's denial merely that Christians did not insult the local religion, it is not possible to recognize any apology to the heathen for the Christian religion, or any interest in it, or approval of it, by the Roman officials. Luke's special aim in recording these incidents will, however, be more likely to be indicated in connection with the interests and needs of his Christian readers. From Paul's expulsion from Pisidian Antioch onwards, and definitely, at any date assigned to the composition of Acts, the disciples were subject to attack caused both by Jewish instigation and by Gentile misunderstanding, suspicion or contempt. From the first, they must be established in the duty of accepting sufferings under these attacks; and equally they must avoid 'as much as lieth in them,' all possible occasion of attack. Up to 64 A. D. the conceivable grounds of accusation of them were breach of loyalty, personal immorality, attack upon or interference with established religious usages and social institutions. In the hortatory sections of the Epistles we find repeated detailed instructions for the avoidance of every form or appearance of evil, I Thess. 5, 22, and particularly with regard to 'those that are without.' And besides instruction, Paul at least pointed to his own example for imitation in this situation. Writing to the Thessalonians near the time of the Jews' attack upon him before Gallio, he reminds them, II Thess. 3, 8 ff.; 'ye yourselves know how ye ought to imitate us, because we behaved not ourselves

[9] Wendt, *in loc.* The behavior of Gallio is, in the meaning of Luke, neither an expression of his leniency; nor of marked wisdom in deciding as to the limits of his office, (Meyer, de Wette); nor further, of a favorable disposition towards Paul, (Overbeck), which there is nothing to indicate; but simply of the sovereign contempt which he entertains in general towards the Jews, and in particular towards their doctrinal disputes.

disorderly among you,' ἠτακτήσαμεν; and their imitation of him and of the Lord was, I Thess. 1, 6, in receiving the word in much tribulation; and was also, 2, 14, an imitation of the Judean churches, because they suffered the same things. Again, writing to Corinth, I Cor. 11, 1, shortly before the Ephesian riot, he calls upon them to be imitators of him as he is of Christ, immediately following the call 10, 32 to prove themselves offenseless, ἀπρόσκοποι, to Jews and Greeks and to the Church of God.

It therefore seems justifiable to conclude that Luke has selected the six incidents from among many others to which Paul alludes in I Cor. 4, 9; 15, 31; II Cor. 6, 5 ff.; 11, 23 ff., cp. Acts 20, 19, for his readers' instruction, imitation of the Apostles and Christ and for their establishment in a situation in which, on Harnack's dating of Acts in 63 A. D., they were exhorted by Paul at the same time to be 'children of God without blemish in the midst of a crooked and perverse generation,' Philpp. 2, 15. The narrative of Paul's expulsions from Antioch and Iconium and his sufferings at Lystra is concluded, Acts 14, 22, with the record of his establishment of the disciples with exhortation that 'through many tribulations we must enter into the kingdom of God.' That Luke had a direct interest in thus recording the persecution by local authorities and populace in its relation to instruction of his readers in patience under tribulation, is supported by a precisely similar selection of these incidents by Paul for Timothy's imitation and establishment.[10] The persecutions at Philippi and Thessalonica which Luke records are also recalled to the Thessalonians by Paul, I Thess. 2, 2; and are followed in 3, 2 ff. by exhortation for establishment in tribulation. In the Gallio incident it may be remarked that its direct connection is with the attacks of the Jews in 18, 6 and 12, and with the vision of vs. 10, 'I am with thee and no man shall set on thee to harm thee.'

In the selection of this incident and of the riot in Ephesus concerning the Way, Luke has further opportunity to record not only the Apostle's deliverance out of tribulation, but to point for the disciples' imitation, to his avoidance of occasion for attack. Gallio

[10] II. Tim, 3, 10. But thou didst follow, παρηκολούθησας, my teaching . . . persecutions, sufferings; what things befell me at Antioch, at Iconium, at Lystra; what persecutions I endured: and out of them the Lord delivered me. Yea, and all that will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution.

states as his policy, 'reason would that I should bear with you, if it were a matter of breach of the law and personal wickedness.' The Jews bring no such charge and Gallio has not otherwise learned of any grounds for it. Paul has obviously been careful to observe his own rules of subjection to the higher powers, Rom. 13, 1, and to take thought for things honorable in the sight of all men, 12, 17; or as he wrote from Corinth before Gallio's arrival, 'study to be quiet, ἡσυχάζειν; do your own business, πράσσειν τὰ ἴδια; to work with your hands,' *i. e.*, in contrast to those who in II Thess. 3, 11, work not at all but are busybodies, περιεργαζόμενοι; to walk becomingly εὐσχημόνως toward them that are without,' I Thess. 4, 11 ff.

As he has avoided any appearance of evil doing or disloyalty at Corinth, so at Ephesus has he been free from any charge of being a busybody or ἀλλοτριοεπίσκοπος; of intruding into and interfering with the recognized local religion. He had so 'attended to his own' preaching of the Gospel and to his own method of criticism of idol worship, that the town clerk, 19, 36, states that Christians have been 'guilty by neither in act nor in language of disrespect to our goddess,' Ramsay.

It will have been noticed that up to this point no charge has been considered by officials against the Christian movement as a whole, that would make membership in the Church and bearing the name of Christian, ipso facto the ground of persecution. Such a general charge was indeed insinuated by the Jews at Thessalonica, 17, 7, and no doubt elsewhere: that the movement involved opposition to Roman government, institutions and legislation. But the politarchs show by their release of Jason and the rest simply upon security taken, vs. 9, that they recognized the charge had no basis, but grew out of disputes connected with Jewish and Christian messianic teaching, cp. 7b, into which like Gallio they would spurn to enter.

Tertullus, however, as remarked, summed up and renewed all the Jewish accusations against Paul; and among them that of the political criminality of the sect of the Nazarenes, which the Jews do not recognize as rightfully claiming a share in the Roman recognition of Judaism as a religio licita. It is this charge, leading later to the persecution of Christians as such, relating to the religious, moral and political character of the sect of the Nazarenes,

which is central in the long account in five chapters of Paul's arrest, trials, defenses and appeal. Claudius Lysias reports that the real ground of Jewish attack is concerning questions of their law, 23, 29, and not criminal or illegal acts worthy of death or bonds. Tertullus nevertheless renews three such charges along with the charge against the sect. Paul directly defends himself against the three charges by pointing to his orderly personal behavior in Jerusalem where he was worshiping in the Temple, and engaged nowhere in disputings and therefore raising no tumult. Instead of profaning the Temple, he had come bringing alms to his nations and offerings, and was found purified in the Temple. Both in the examination before Felix and in the subsequent hearings these charges are considered as satisfactorily refuted. Like Lysias and Festus, 25, 19, he recognizes that the real charge concerns the legality of the sect of the Nazarenes: 'This I confess unto thee that after the Way they call αἵρεσις, so serve I the God of our fathers,' 24, 14. He insists on its genuinely Jewish religious character in the three features suggestive of what is probably a Jewish propaganda instruction adopted and adapted by Christian missionaries. As a Nazarene or Christian as Agrippa terms him, his faith and worship is directed towards the One God of the Jewish fathers; his Christian hope is for the resurrection at the messianic judgment; his Christian morality is to exercise himself to have a conscience void of offense in duty toward God and man, 24, 14–16. Finally he reminds the court and his accusers that no charge of crime, ἀδίκημα was brought against him in the Sanhedrin. The only remaining charge against him, then and now, is his preaching the resurrection of the dead, *i. e.*, of Christ, and its religious issues, cp. Festus, 25, 19.

But at this point, Felix 'having more exact knowledge of the Way' adjourns the case. Whatever motives of administrative policy or hope of a bribe led to this postponement, it indicates that the three other charges, which it was his clear duty to adjudicate, were not sustained. And it also strongly suggests that he is unwilling to render a decision on this new charge of the illegality of the sect of the Nazarenes, which would involve a determination of the intricate theological questions in dispute; and also of the legal status both of the Palestinian Christians which had been hitherto practically recognized by the Jews, and of the Pauline

Christians in the Dispersion, who were repudiated by them in the person of their leader. Festus too dismisses as unfounded the other charges, and recognizes that the case concerns 'questions against him of their own superstition and of one Jesus who was dead, whom Paul affirmed to be alive.' In his 'perplexity how to inquire concerning these things,' and upon his proposal to favor the Jews by deciding the issue in a trial before himself at Jerusalem, Paul, whether or not knowing of the plot to murder him en route, 25, 3, realizes the need of a decision of such a question by higher authority; and appeals at any risk, vs. 11, from the incompetence and indecision of the Procurator to Cæsar.

Yet the question of the charge on which he is to be sent to Nero still remains, 25, 26. Since Festus had already dismissed the other accusations, 25, 19.25, there remained only the charge of Paul's leadership among the Nazarenes, a sect whose legality the Procurator had failed to determine. Agrippa is consulted to assist Festus to report on the charge; and the hearing before the king is definitely concerning the relation of Judaism and the Way. Paul asserts their essential relation. As a Pharisee he had lived in the hope of the messianic promise made of God to the fathers; as a Christian he stands accused concerning this hope and its fulfillment in the Gospel. While a Pharisee persecuting the Way, he had been called to preach the Gospel by the risen Jesus; and in this ministry he preaches nothing but what the Jewish prophets predicted: that the Christ should suffer and rise to proclaim light both to the people and to the Gentiles. To Festus the Roman this exposition of the Way in its relation to Judaism is madness, *μανία*, as later to Pliny it is superstitio prava immodica. By Agrippa the attempt to develop the relation is repelled with a courtly sneer of contempt for the name of Christian. Yet both agree that it is not a crime calling for punishment by the State; and they remit the case to Rome by reason of Paul's appeal from Festus's proposal of a Jerusalem trial.

Luke's interest in the narrative of these Roman hearings is controlled by his general aim to present historically in the progress of Christianity even amid opposition and persecution, what the Epistle to the Romans presents theologically: the Gospel as a power of God unto salvation to the Jew first and also to the Greek. There is no indication of a tendency to prove to unbe-

lievers that the harmlessness of Christianity was recognized by officials who avoided a decision, and yet kept the Apostle five years in imprisonment on the charges; nor of personal favoring interest by any of the officials. Felix left him bound to gain favor with the Jews; Festus also desiring to gain favor with them, proposed an ominous Jerusalem trial. The evident stress by Luke upon Paul's convincing proofs of innocence of personal wrongdoing and of attack upon social order or religious institutions, and upon his bold profession of his Christian faith, is as before for the instruction and establishment of his Christian readers in similar situations. Paul's conduct under attack had already been exemplified and governed by the principles Peter urged for the establishment of his readers under persecution: let none of you suffer as a criminal ' or as an evildoer or as an ἀλλοτριοεπίσκοπος; but if any man suffer as a Christian, let him not be ashamed, but let him glorify God in this name,' I Pet. 4, 15, cp. also 3, 15 f.[11] Luke's aims are illustrated by Paul's letters in the Roman imprisonment succeeding his appeal, in which are interwoven exhortations for establishment under attack, by his own example and conduct. The Philippians are to stand fast, in nothing affrighted by the adversaries; having the same conflict which they saw in him and now hear to be in him, 1, 27 ff. The rising opposition and popular defamation is to be met by the strictest personal morality, Philp. 1, 27; 4, 8; Ephes. 4, 17 ff.; Col. 3, 5 ff. Especially against suspicion of unsettling social institutions are the sections emphasizing due subordination in the household, on the highest Christian principles, Ephes. 5, 22–6, 9; Col. 3, 18–4, 1.[12] The runaway slave Onesimus is returned to Philemon, yet now 'as a brother beloved.' In direct relations with 'those that are without,' murmurings and disputings are to be avoided, Pp. 2, 15; speech is to be always with grace, seasoned with salt, that they may know how to answer each one, Col. 4, 6; and in general they are to walk in wisdom towards those without, redeeming the time because the days are evil, cp. the parallel, Ephes. 5, 15. No allusion, however, is made to accusations of

[11] If with several recent critics Acts was composed in 63 A. D., and if with Chase, Zahn, etc., I Peter early in 64, they would be practically contemporaneous.

[12] Cp. Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, 236, 246, 348.

disloyalty or sedition, against the Apostle or his readers.[13] But as in Acts, along with this emphasis on Christian avoidance of all occasion of complaints in the sphere of the things of Cæsar, is the accompanying emphasis on his readiness, shared by his readers, to suffer in behalf of the Christ, Php. 1, 29.20.

The result of the trial has not been recorded by Luke. His silence and the uncertainty of the historical connections in the later New Testament references to the conflict with the State in the Apostolic Age, has been the inevitable occasion of divided views among historical critics concerning the facts, dates and legal processes of State persecution, which affect also the determination of critical questions as to the dates and genuineness, *e. g.*, of the Pastorals and I Peter. Outside the New Testament, Nero's persecution recorded by Tacitus and Suetonius is the starting point for the historical discussion of the conflict.[14] As our present interest is in the establishment of believers under this and later attacks by the State or populace, we shall consider it on the theory that Paul was released in Rome in 63; possibly as the outcome of the failure of the Jerusalem authorities to prosecute within a biennium. There was, however, obviously judicial examination of the Procurator's report of the charges and defense made at Cæsarea. The Apostle's release implies not only acknowledgment of his innocence of immorality, crime and interference with established religion and social order, but in addition a recognition that Christianity was not in itself a crime, and not a seditious movement.

But parallel to this absence of legal condemnation, there are the indications in the New Testament of a rising popular hatred and defamation. It is presupposed in the exhortations of Rom. 12, 17–13, 7, cp. 8, 35 ff., which are based on Paul's experience in Asia Minor and Greece, and are assumed to be needed in Rome

[13] Canfield, *Early Persecutions of Christians*, p. 41: 'It is doubtful whether the Christians were formally accused of *maiestas* even as late as the time of Tertullian.'

[14] For this discussion reference may be made to Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 226 ff. E. G. Hardy, Christianity and the Roman Government, in *Studies in Roman History*. F. H. Chase, *Hastings' D. B.*, III, p. 783 f. L. H. Canfield, *Early Persecutions of the Christians*, with the sources in text and translation. H. B. Workman, *Persecution in the Early Church*.

in 58 A. D. Writing in 63 A. D., his picture of opposition in Php. 1, 28 f. and 2, 14 ff., is the reflection of the situation of Rome at the same time. From Ephesians and Colossians we have inferred allusions to popular discredit and suspicion in Asia Minor at this period. Tacitus, *Ann.* XV, 14 is the direct witness of this widespread feeling in 64 A. D. against the disciples 'who were called Christians by the mob and were hated for their enormities, flagitia.' He himself views the new religion as a 'pernicious superstition,' and includes it among the 'atrocia aut pudenda.' Upon these objects of popular malevolence, Nero seeks to cast the blame for the burning of Rome and inaugurates the first State persecution.

The legal procedure and outcome of this Neronian trial of the accused Christians became the precedent for the further official persecutions in the rest of the New Testament period, under the Flavian emperors. The authorities referred to above present in detail the recent theories as to its method; especially whether Christians were condemned as Callewaert and numerous French scholars hold, by a special penal law formulated by Nero; or as Profumo argues, by a rule of evidence, *institutum Neronianum*, according to which, 'immorality, sacrilege or atheism, and *maiestas* are so intimately associated that proof of one of them implied guilt of the other two,' Canfield, p. 31; or by trial for violation of criminal law; or as is more generally accepted, following Mommsen, by the magistrate's inherent power of immediate action, *coercitio*, in repressing any disorders affecting good order and the welfare of the State.

More important, however, than this debate in regard to the procedure, is the debate concerning the ground of the charges under Nero. In Trajan's reign it is evident that Christians are punished for the Name: 'for the profession of Christianity apart from proof of definite crimes.' Ramsay, pp. 242, 253, maintains that 'under Nero it was otherwise. The trial is held, and the condemnation is pronounced in respect not of the Name, but of serious offenses connected with the Name.' He insists that the development of this policy into that followed by Pliny and Trajan took place under Vespasian; which he grants involves the dating of I Peter about 80 A. D.

It seems, however, more probable, with Moffatt, *Introd.*, p.

324 f., that the action which began with the trial of Christians for arson and other crimes, issued in a 'second stage of imperial procedure against them as hostile to the human race, inaugurated under Nero, (which) prevailed during the Flavian dynasty and invested the mere name of Christian with perilous and compromising associations.' Hardy, who with Mommsen and Sanday believes that persecution for the Name might have happened at any time since 64 A. D., points out, p. 95 f., that in the Neronian trials, 'while probably several specific charges came into consideration, the condemnation was not on the ground of any of them, but of a summary of them all amounting to 'odium generis humani': in other words, the Christians were condemned for what was involved in the name or profession of their sect.' 'They were punished,' p. 59, 'not as incendiaries but as Christians.' [15]

The conduct of Christians under persecutions which were liable to break out in the provinces on occasion of popular antagonism and after acquaintance with the Neronian persecution and legal precedent,[16] is that prescribed by Christ and practiced by Paul, as he claims in his defenses at Cæsarea. It is urged upon the disciples in the Epistles which, on the view of their genuineness, were written shortly after the attack at Rome in 64 A. D.: the Pastorals and I Peter. I Timothy and Titus, regarded as Pauline, are usually assigned to 66 A. D., though Zahn dates them a year earlier. They make, however, no reference to official persecution, and as Ramsay emphasizes make no reference to persecution for the Name. This proves that no general State persecution was then in progress; and is also inconsistent with the view that under Nero a specific law had been enacted making Christianity an

[15] Hardy, pp. 60, 63, explains the spasmodic character of the later proceedings against Christians as due to the fact that 'provincial governors would be far more likely . . . only to take action when popular feeling forced it upon them.' Since the whole matter was one of police administration, they would take action 'when action seemed advisable, but might at any time without weakening the principle of such action, allow it to rest either wholly or in part during long intervals of time.' This action would be simply to establish the Christianity of the accused, which was itself criminally deserving execution; though 'as long as Christianity was comparatively unfamiliar, the special charges would be to a certain extent gone into, while later on this would be thought in fact as it already was in principle, unnecessary.'

[16] Cp. Moffatt, *Introd.*, p. 327.

illegal society. Yet both from several definite statements and from general features of their structure and contents, it is evident that the two letters are written within the shadow of a threatened official persecution, which if it takes place will be for the Name. The recent meeting of the Apostle with his fellow-workers to whom he now writes renders unnecessary a description of the historical situation. Nor any need of extended instruction concerning persecution for the Name. If it arises, every Christian has already been taught the duty of unflinching confession, and of submission to the resulting death. But as it is stirred up by popular suspicion and slanders, there is need to provide as hitherto for the avoidance of occasion for this antagonism. The two Epistles are instructions in matters of Church order; yet specifically concerning the discipline of Church life in order to meet a situation of threatened external attack and also of an internal danger of a false teaching whose indifference to morality and tendencies towards emancipation from social order, would furnish occasion for attack on all professing the Name.

Hence, we mark among the principal topics in each, loyalty to the Empire expressed in submission to its rulers, Tit. 3, 1; in prayers for kings and all that are in high place; and in recognition of the validity of laws against *flagitia*, which are contrary to the Christian sound doctrine and Gospel, I Tim. 2, 2; 1, 8 ff. while thus rendering to Cæsar the things of Cæsar, supreme allegiance to God is recalled in his special titles in contrast to earthly sovereigns. As in Php. 3, 20 *ἡμῶν τό πολίτευμα ἐν οὐρανοῖς* is followed by the title of Christ as *Σωτήρ* and *Κύριος*, so in these letters we find nine times forms of *ὁ Σωτὴρ ἡμῶν θεός* or *ὁ μέγας θεὸς καὶ Σωτὴρ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς χριστός*. He is *βασιλεὺς τῶν αἰώνων*; and in the context referring to 'the good confession' of Timothy and of Christ before Pilate, 6, 12 ff., he is the blessed and only *Δυνάστης, ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλευόντων καὶ κύριος τῶν κυριευόντων*.

We observe next the stress on avoidance of the charge of disturbing public order and social customs. Christians are to lead a tranquil and quiet, *ἡσύχιον*, life in all godliness and gravity, I Tim. 2, 2; to ward off accusation of 'odium generis humani,' which in Tit. 3, 3b, is really a characteristic of their pre-christian state, by speaking evil of no man, not being contentious but gentle, showing all meekness toward all men, as followers of the

kindness and φιλανθρωπία of God our Saviour, vss. 2.4. Especially in the social order of the household to give no occasion for complaint, which could arise from the abuse of Christian freedom by women, I Tim. 2, 9–15; Titus 2, 3–6; or by slaves, I Tim. 6, 1; Tit. 2, 9 f.

There is further a constant emphasis throughout both letters on personal morality, which is summed up in the injunction, Tit. 3, 8, that those who have believed in God are to be careful to maintain good works. The relation of these justifications is expressed in the two dogmatic passages, 3, 4–7 and 2, 11–14; they are not its ground but its outcome and goal, 2, 14. The grace of God which brings salvation instructs us to be zealous of good works in all the possible relations of a life of duty towards self, man and God: to live soberly, righteously and godly in this present world. One definite need of this emphasis is due to the presence of many unruly, ἀνυπότακτοι, false teachers of antinomian license, who profess to know God, but by their works deny him; being unto every good work reprobate, Tit. 1, 15 f. The seriousness of this influence and its danger both for the truth of the Gospel and for the relation of Christians to the State, can be inferred from the detailed descriptions of them and from the definite charges for their repudiation in I Timothy, Chapters 1, 4 and 6, and in Titus 1, 10 ff.; 3, 9 ff.; and also from probable counter-acting teachings in the intervening sections. It is also significant that in both Epistles the directions concerning the ministry are given from the view point of discipline in accordance with the above instructions. Titus himself, 2, 7, is to be a type of good works, uncorrupt teaching, sound speech that cannot be condemned; and this, definitely 'that he that is of the contrary part may be ashamed, having no evil thing to say of us.' The qualifications of presbyters, 1, 6, are that they shall be above the possibility of general reproach; then as bishops and stewards of God above the reproach of characteristics unfitted for rule and discipline, and known to be zealous of good works; and also able to exhort in the sound doctrine and to confute the false teachers. Similar qualifications are demanded in I Tim. 3, with distinct emphasis on their capacity to rule, as shown by their rule of their own homes; and on their ' good testimony from them that are without,' vs. 7. By their discipline, sound teaching and refutation of the immoral doctrines of the intruding errorists, the

popular charges against Christians may be dispelled by their marked loyalty, by avoidance of attack on the social order and by their type of highest morality. Nevertheless, in spite of such refutation of specific charges, persecution for the Name of Christian is now at any time a possibility. Should it arise, the one duty as enjoined throughout the New Testament, is unwavering confession of the Name, 'rejoicing that as ye are partakers of Christ's sufferings, at the revelation of his glory also, ye may rejoice with exceeding joy,' I Pet. 4, 13.

This passage from I Peter refers distinctly to reviling for the Name. The Epistle, which is here regarded as written from Rome shortly after I Tim. and Titus,[17] is addressed to Pauline Christians in Asia who are already suffering persecution on account of the popular clamor, and are also in imminent peril of persecution and death for their profession of Christianity. The conduct to which Peter exhorts in his situation is closely parallel to that which we have observed in the two Pauline Pastorals. He, too, counsels loyal submission to the Emperor and Governors, 2, 13; though first recalling the disciples' heavenly citizenship, and addressing them therefore as 'sojourners and pilgrims,' 2, 9. 11. He warns them likewise against interference with the established social order: let none of you suffer as ἀλλοτριοεπίσκοπος ,[18] 4, 15; and as in the Pastorals sends a special message both to the Christian slaves, 2, 18 ff., urging submission and acceptance of suffering, after the example of Christ; and also to wives, 3, 1 ff., bidding them submit to unbelieving husbands in 'a chaste behavior coupled with fear' and with the adorning of a meek and quiet spirit.

There is again in this Epistle the same constant stress on moral conduct 'as children of obedience, they are to be holy in all behavior, 1, 14; to have their behavior seemly, καλή among the Gentiles, who speak against them as evil doers,' 2, 12, cp. 3, 16. The

[17] Moffatt, *Introd.*, p. 323. 'The internal evidence does not appear to carry us beyond the seventh decade of the first century, as reflected, *e. g.*, in a contemporary passage like Mk. 13, 9–11.'

[18] Ramsay, *Church in Roman Empire*, 293: "It refers to the charge of tampering with family relationships, causing disunion and discord, rousing discontent and disobedience among slaves, and so on." And on p. 348 n. "The Latin term *alienum speculari* and the noun *alieni speculator* suggested the extraordinary Greek rendering . . . as a rough attempt to translate a foreign term that had no recognized equivalent in Greek."

immoral influence of the errorists of the Pastorals in spreading a false spirit of emancipation from external authority and law is here guarded against in the summary: 'as free, and not having your freedom for a cloak of wickedness, but as bondservants of God,' 2, 16. In contrast to the Pastorals there is naturally only the most general reference to the duties of the clergy in this pastoral addressed directly to the Christian disciples.

But in addition to avoiding the specific popular charges, and to acceptance of suffering on account of righteousness, 2, 12; 3, 14 f.; 4, 15, the disciples must now face a situation in which the Christian brotherhood anywhere is exposed to suffering for the Name. Again, the only duty is confession of the faith: be not ashamed; glorify God in this Name, 4, 16; and humble submission to suffering according to the will of God, 4, 13.19; 5, 6, revealed in Christ's benediction on the persecuted, 4, 14, cp. Mtw. 5, 11.12, and in his own glorification through suffering.

The Second Epistle to Timothy points to Paul's arrest in spite of the avoidance of the popular charges; and presumably as a leader of the condemned Christian movement, under the precedent of 64 A. D, which we learn from I Peter 4, 12–19 was being acted upon in this period. The circumstances of his arrest are unknown. If, however, he was in Greece in 66 A. D, I Tim 1, 3; Tit. 3, 12, it may be related to Nero's presence there from autumn of 66 to spring of 68. His tours there 'caused no interruption in the course of imperial bloodshed. Rich victims were to be found in Achaia, as in Italy,' *H. D. B.* III 517. It was there too that Nero received the announcement of the Jewish rebellion and of the terrific defeat by the Jews of the Roman forces under the legate Cestius in October, 66. While such a situation could account for Nero's arrest of the Jewish leader of the Christians, it still leaves undetermined the charge upon which he was remanded to Rome. But Paul's statements in II Timothy point strongly to prosecution for the Name. The basis of this charge is the earlier decision that profession of the Name involves 'hatred of the human race,' which is a summary of all special charges. Hence the Apostle's statement, 2, 9, that he is suffering as an evildoer, κακοῦργος, could in itself express the essential content of the charge of being a Christian. Ramsay on the contrary insists, p. 249, that 'κακοῦργος refers expressly to the *flagitia*, for which the Christians were condemned under Nero,

and for which they were no longer condemned in A. D. 112'; though he adds, 'the *flagitia* were a standing reproach in all periods.'

But κακοῦργος does not stand alone. He is thus suffering as an evildoer not in view of specific personal immoralities or political crimes, but 'suffering in my gospel that Jesus of the seed of David is risen from the dead.[19] In a close parallel the gospel summarized in 1, 9.10, of which he is preacher and apostle and teacher, vs. 11, is the cause of his suffering. In vs. 12 follows his unwavering confession of it, and his commendation of his soul, παραθήκην μου, to God, as in I Pet. 4, 19, those suffering according to the will of God as Christians are not to be ashamed, but are to commend their souls, παρατιθέσθωσαν, in well doing unto a faithful Creator. Timothy likewise is now no longer exhorted concerning avoidance of popular calumny of crimes of Christians, but in 1, 8, is not to be ashamed of 'the witness of our Lord nor of me his prisoner; but to suffer hardship with the Gospel'; and 2, 3, with me as a good soldier of Christ Jesus. In 2, 11 ff., the alternative to enduring is 'to deny Christ and to cease to be loyal to him,' Holtzmann and B. Weiss;[20] the passage being based on the saying Mtw., 10 32 f. We may therefore conclude that Paul is about to suffer for the Name, for his confession that he is a Christian. Such a charge which would affect the disciples in general could account for the desertions in 1, 15, when 'all that are in Asia turned away from him'; and in 4, 16, when at his first defense all forsook him. In vs. 17 the aim of that defense is not to clear himself of charges of personal crimes, but 'that the message might be fully proclaimed.' And in 4, 7 ff. the righteous Judge is to crown him upon his impending death, which is viewed in no relation to false accusation of crimes, but as the result of his ministry in the gospel and of having kept the faith. That the statement τὴν πίστιν τετήρηκα includes his final confession of it at Rome, as already at Cæsarea, Acts 24, 14–16; 26, 19–23, is supported by the similar statement, Rev. 3, 8: ἐτήρησάς μου τὸν λόγον καὶ οὐκ ἠρνήσω τὸ ὄνομά μου.

[19] II. Tim 2, 8.9. κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου, ἐν ᾧ κακοπαθῶ μέχρι δεσμῶν ὡς κακοῦργος.

[20] In 2, 13, ἀπιστεύω is in contrast to πιστὸς μένει; in I Tim. 5, 8, we have the combination ἄπιστος and ἀρνεῖσθαι τὴν πίστιν; and in Tit. 1, 16, the contrast, ἀρνέομαι and ὁμολογέω.

We may briefly notice the references to this conflict and to Christian conduct in relation to it in New Testament books written either in this decade or later. In Hebrews, whether assigned to the closing years of Nero or to the period 80–96 A. D., the persecutions alluded to could be both for alleged crimes and for profession of the faith. Formerly, 10, 32, in some undefined locality and period, the new converts had endured exposure to popular revilings and afflictions or had avowed their fellowship with such sufferers and prisoners; and had accepted the spoiling of their possessions, as 'the results of mob-rioting.' But now the writer prepares them 'for bearing the brunt of some imminent danger, which hitherto (12, 4, not yet unto blood), they have been spared,' Moffatt, *Introd.*, 454. That this is persecution for their profession of Christ is indicated in repeated allusions to the temptation and sin of not maintaining this profession; in calls to hold fast the confession of our hope without wavering, 10, 23, cp. 6, 12, and to joyful confession of his name, 13, 15, bearing the reproach of Christ, vs. 13. To bear this reproach demands, vs. 14, their first and supreme allegiance to the abiding heavenly city and Patria, 11, 14 f. It was the reproach of the Christ which Moses deemed greater riches than the treasures of Egypt, when he forsook that kingdom to suffer affliction with the people of God. As in I Pet. 4, 12–19, among the motives for endurance 'if they are reproached in the name of Christ,' Heb. 12, 1–11, likewise points to fellowship thereby with Christ's suffering and glory, and humble submission to the chastening and exalting hand of the Father of Spirits.

All the New Testament instructions for conduct under persecution and especially for confession of the faith at any cost, are based upon the warnings, commands and promises of Christ. The disciples were familiar with these in the Oral Gospel, in the instruction preparatory to baptism and in the use of them in the Church services. As according to recent datings the Synoptic Gospels were written at the beginning of the period of increasing popular and official persecutions from about 65 A. D. onwards, they served among other needs, that of establishing believers by their record of Christ's teachings relative to this conflict. Even on theories of their later date, it is to be observed that all the Gospel passages relating to the coming persecutions are taken from the earliest

sources, especially from Q,[21] and thus attest the instruction of converts in the earliest period concerning attacks from Jewish and local heathen authorities or from popular antagonism. They appear in four out of the five great Discourses in Matthew which are ended with the well-known formula and in their parallels. The first, in the Sermon on the Mount, Mtw. 5, 10–12, contains the blessings on those persecuted for righteousness' sake and on those reproached, persecuted and slandered for Christ's sake. Next and most fully in the Discourse at the Mission of the Twelve, 10, 16–39, *i. e.*, 24 out of 38 verses. In the Parable Discourse, the reference to 'Tribulation or persecution because of the word,' 13, 21, is usually viewed as taken from Mark, the earliest of the Synoptics. The remaining passage, 24, 9, is in the Discourse on the Last Things, in which Mk. 13, 9–13, parallels Mtw. 10, 17–22. According to B. Weiss this Mtw.-Mk. parallel, while not originally in either the charge to the Apostles, Mtw. 10, 5 ff. or in the Parousia Discourse, was yet taken from teaching belonging to the close of the ministry.[22] In John also, warnings of persecutions are given at the close of the ministry in the discourses at the Last Supper, John 15, 18 ff.; 16, 1 ff.

The Christian readers of the Gospels were prepared for persecution by these warnings of Christ and by his call for unwavering confession of faith in him. On the last day of public ministry, his command to pay tribute to Cæsar as expressed in the general principle of rendering unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, embraced the duty of obedience to all law against crime and of loyal submission, whereby occasions of persecutions would be guarded against. Yet should the things of Cæsar involve conflict with the supreme duty of a divine allegiance, the principle of profession of the faith at any cost of sacrifice was fixed at the

[21] This is dated by Moffatt, *Introd.*, 203 as not later than 70; "so far as the internal evidence goes, it may even fall within the sixth" decade of the first century.

[22] B. Weiss, *Marcusevangem*, p. 416 n.: 'Matthew has inserted this series of Sayings in the Discourse of Instruction, 10, 17–22. But it belongs neither to this Discourse nor to that on the Parousia; but formed in the Apostolic source an independent prediction of the fate of the disciples, which Mark considers and certainly rightly as appertaining to the last disclosures to the disciples.' This view is presented with additional details in his *Matthäusevangem*, p. 273.

same time in the command, render unto God the things that are God's. For support in submitting to any resulting suffering according to the will of God, the later Epistles point to the example of the suffering of Christ and to his resulting glorification as recorded in the Gospel witness of his passion and resurrection.

In the Revelation we find the Christians confronted with the distinct issue of the conflict between the things of Cæsar and of God. There is very general agreement as to the historic occasion of the conflict and as to the primary aim of the book to instruct and establish Christians under the trials of an outbreak of persecution in Asia in the later years of Domitian's reign. That it was persecution for the Name, appears from the recurring references to Christians as having borne, holding and not denying my Name; as keeping the word and commandments of God and the testimony, μαρτυρία, of Jesus. The demand for Cæsar-worship, chap. 13, which evoked this 'word of their testimony' from those 'who loved not their life even unto death,' 12, 11, was not pressed upon Christians until the close of the Apostolic age. While Augustus had instituted the cult of Rome and Augustus in the provinces, the original temple in Asia being at Pergamus, 'no worship of the emperor, which is adequate to the data of the Apocalypse, was enforced until Domitian's reign,' Moffatt, *Introd.*, p. 503. Like Caligula he insisted on being entitled 'Dominus et Deus' and 'looked upon the Imperial cultus as part of the national religion; and in this point of view, refusal to comply with the prescribed forms of respect to the Emperor constituted disloyalty and treason,' Ramsay, p. 275; similarly Moffatt, p. 504; cp. Hardy, p. 71 ff.

Such a demand admitted of no compromise. It made necessary the Christians' profession of supreme allegiance to their heavenly citizenship under the King of Kings and Lord of Lords, and their renunciation of blasphemous worship of the world kingdom and its Imperial head, chaps. 12–14. And they were fortified for the tribulations incurred by their loyal profession and witness by the example of Christ's victory and lordship through sufferings, chaps. 1–3; by God's control of the world destinies and his final destruction of the visible and invisible forces of evil; and by the divine assurances in prophecy and vision, of the hope of glory for those who overcome.

CHAPTER VII

THE JUDAISTIC CONTROVERSY

The controversial element in the New Testament is concerned not alone with external attacks upon Christianity. Two internal controversies called for special establishment of faith in the Apostolic Age: one the attempted perversion of the Gospel by Judaizers; and at the other extreme, an insidious gnostic intrusion.

The Judaistic controversy was unquestionably the most critical in the New Testament Age, and the most vital for the truth of the Gospel. Its emergence was foreshadowed in the Jewish attack upon Stephen. The resulting persecution led to the spread of Christianity beyond Palestine, and eventually among the Gentiles. That Gentile mission definitely raised the questions at issue between the Judaizers and Paul; and it continued to be the occasion of their relentless attack upon himself, his Gospel and his work. Their contention that salvation by faith in Jesus as the Christ was only possible in connection with membership in the elect nation of Israel by means of circumcision and observance of the Mosaic law, would obviously have reduced Christianity from a religion of universal redemption to a Judaic sect. Instead of ever-advancing world conquest, the new faith might then have disappeared with the national ruin of Judaism, as was the fate of the Judaistic Christians in the earliest centuries.[1]

This controversy, however, was, as Hort has stated, *Judaistic Christianity*, p. 6, 'a natural product of the circumstances of the Apostolic Age. It was involved in the Jewish opposition to Christ's own ministry. It rested on a failure to realize the necessary method for accomplishing his world redeeming mission. He came both as 'minister of the circumcision for the truth of God, that he might confirm the promises given unto the fathers' and also 'that the Gentiles might glorify God for his mercy,'

[1] Cp. Hoennicke, *Das Judenchristenthum im 1. und 2. Jahrhundert*, p. 375 ff. McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, p. 442.

Rom. 15, 8 f. His universal mission was to be begun and developed in relation with the life, the religious faith, institutions and hope of elect Israel; and this was only conceivable by means of a creative transformation of Judaism. The necessary transformation presents the whole problem of the relation of the Old and New dispensations; of promise and fulfillment; election and universalism; grace and legalism. In the beginnings of the Gospel, Jewish misconception of these relations as Christ unfolded them, is the primary occasion of the opposition which he experienced and sought to remove by his twofold disclaimer and affirmation: 'Think not that I came to destroy the law or the prophets; I came not to destroy but to fulfill,' Mtw. 5, 17. Yet after two decades of Apostolic ministry, Jewish Christians still assert, in spite of Christ's revelation of his twofold relation to the law and its institutions, 'except ye be circumcised after the custom of Moses, ye cannot be saved,' Acts 15, 1.

Hort in his summary of the Gospel teachings concerning Christ and the law, *op. cit.*, p. 36 ff., indicates as the fundamental source of this Judaizing misconception, their inability to grasp the two sides of his teaching and action with respect of the law. "Our Lord declared himself not the destroyer of the law and the prophets but their fulfiller, in that he sought to give effect to their true purpose and inner meaning. He indicated that for himself and his true disciples the old form of the law had ceased to be binding; but he did not disobey its precepts, or even the precepts of tradition. . . . He did homage to that (for its time) right service of the old order which was represented by John the Baptist, though he at the same time proclaimed its entirely lower and transitory character. He deliberately confined his own ministry and that of his Apostles within Jewish limits . . ., while he clearly made known that the privileges of the people of God were to be extended to mankind. This twofold character of our Lord's action and teaching, recurring under different forms, specially attested in Matthew, the most Judaic of all the Gospels, foreshadows the only way in which the divine purpose, humanly speaking, could be accomplished; while it was inevitably open to much misunderstanding on the one side or the other. The fundamental point, a fulfillment of the law which was not a liberal retention of it as a code of commandments was, as it is still, a conception hard to

grasp: it was easier either to perpetuate the conditions of the old covenant or else to blaspheme them."

This vital and naturally inevitable Judaistic controversy has received exceptionally full investigation as the outcome of the work of the Tübingen School and its successors in emphasizing its significance both for the understanding of the New Testament Age and for the criticism of New Testament literature. The results are accessible in the works on the Apostolic Age and New Testament Theology; the special works on Paul and Paulinism; and in the exegetical discussion of the related New Testament literature. It is not our purpose here to refer to the controversy in its theological aspects further than in their connection with the historic progress of the conflict and with the establishment of faith under it.

While the actual agitation arose historically with the extension of the Gospel to those outside the Jewish nation, the principles involved came up for discussion in the disputes of Stephen in the Hellenistic synagogues of Jerusalem. Through the distorted charges against him and from his own defense, it is evident that Christian Jews apart as yet from any problems of heathen evangelization, were raising questions concerning the continued obligation of Jewish Christian observance of Mosaic law, customs and worship; and further that these questions sprang ultimately from the conviction, which was based on Christ's teaching and final commission, of the universal mission of the Gospel. As we saw earlier, it was with the element of universalism in Israel's religion, that a leading portion of Stephen's defense was concerned. In principle there was among all Jewish Christians no question as to the universal range of messianic salvation. Bertholet [2] in his study of the attitude of Israel to the alien nations has presented this universalism of salvation in the Old Testament teachings, and has shown that varying historic conditions led in different periods to varying degrees of recognition of it. But at all periods there would be uncertainty as to the methods and conditions of its appropriation, along with a general presumption that the nations would identify themselves with Israel to share its glory, rather than that Israel should be a steward, an elect servant to dispense to the world the divine blessings.

[2] Bertholet, A., *op. cit.*, § 3 and § 8; and pp. 393 and 399.

To its conviction of the universalism of the Gospel, the primitive Church had to unite its conviction that the Church was in essential relation to the religion of Israel, and was the heir of its promises and of its election. Wherever, therefore, Gentiles should be admitted to the Christian Church, it would be to a Church in close relations with Israel. And the problem would arise whether they must not accept the same conditions as Jewish Christians for admission and fellowship in the Elect body. In other words, the universalism of the Gospel, so soon as it entered on its initial stages of realization, presented to the Church the questions both of the divine privilege of Israel's election and of the necessity of legal observance for salvation. In Luke's record we observe that the questions arose in this historical order. Philip in evident sympathy with the universalism as preached by his associate Stephen, evangelized Samaria. Their admission into the fellowship of the Church of Jerusalem presented no doctrinal problem. They already accepted circumcision and Mosaism; by their baptism they had accepted the messianism of Israel's prophets; and their reception of the Spirit testified to the divine approval of the work of Philip and the Apostles. The definite stage of the universal extension of the Gospel begins with the conversion of Paul, whose commission to the Gentiles is in order that they may receive forgiveness and 'inheritance among them that are consecrated by faith in me,' Acts 26, 18. His own interpretation of these promises of justification and of fellowship in the inheritance as apart from the conditions of legalism and circumcision, will best account for his persecution at Damascus, the attack by Hellenists at Jerusalem, and for his departure thence upon the warning of the Temple vision and the Church's action in sending him forth to Tarsus.

Peter's baptism of Cornelius, as justified by divine direction for the delivery of the Gospel to him and by his reception of the Spirit even prior to the rite, is the first recognition of the right of a Gentile to membership in the Church, without circumcision. 'They of the circumcision' in Jerusalem promptly raise the general question concerning such membership in their complaint, 'thou wentest in to men uncircumcised and didst eat with them.' The Apostle's defense is the definite direction of the Spirit for this visit, Acts 11, 12; cp. 10, 20.22.28; and more especially the clear

divine warrant for the evangelization and baptism of these Gentile believers. Their right of admission without circumcision was thus settled in principle for Peter, 15, 7 ff.; and for Luke, in view of his exceptionally detailed reports, cp. also 11, 18. Those who later are Judaizers seemed included in its general recognition at this stage, vs. 18. They could in any case acquiesce in this instance of its application as being under special divine direction. It was besides the baptism of a devout Gentile in particularly close sympathy with the Jewish nation and religion, 10, 2.22; and his admission would not be likely to involve further problems of fellowship with Church life in Jerusalem.

The occasion of their antagonism could be the new stage of evangelization at Antioch to Greeks, reading Ἕλληνας with Tischf., Weiss, Blass, etc.[3] Their open opposition and attack is made at Antioch upon the conclusion of Paul's first missionary journey, in which he had turned to the Gentiles and has organized churches among them. The claim of the Pharisaic Judaizers is that in order to the salvation of the Gentile believers, their baptism must be supplemented by circumcision which will admit them to the election of Israel, and by observance of Mosaic legalism, whereby their fellowship with Jewish Christian believers, the inheritors of the promises, will be maintained, Acts 15, 1.5. The issue thus raised was vital for the religion of the Gospel. "It was the one great crisis in the history of the Church, on the issue of which was staked her future progress and triumph," Lightfoot, *Galatians*, 283. It had therefore to be settled by the action of the Church as a whole; and further had to be met and decided so soon as it was raised. The Judaizers claimed to represent the Church of Jerusalem; the Church of Antioch decided to send Paul and Barnabas and certain others to the Jerusalem Apostles and elders; and Paul goes up by revelation, taking with

[3] If on judgment of the Mss. evidence, Ἑλληνιστάς is read with Westcott and Hort, *N. T.*, II, Appndx. 93 f., Von Soden, etc., yet it is generally agreed that the context demands 'Hellenes'; whether the change has been due to copyists of Acts, or as Bacon holds, *Story of St. Paul*, p. 85, to the author of Acts in editing his source. Hort, *Jud. Christianity*, 60, understands a special mission to Hellenists, perhaps including godfearers; Knowling seems to limit the reference to godfearers. Wendt on the contrary recognizing that these views are untenable, holds that 'Hellenists' in this passage is used in a sense distinct from that in 6, 1; 9, 29, and that it is here equivalent to 'Greeks.'

him the Gentile Titus. We have two reports of the Conference: in Gal. 2, 1 ff. and in Acts 15, 6 ff. "In the former Paul is certainly giving his own version of what Luke subsequently described from a later and a different standpoint; there is nothing inconsistent in Paul emphasizing the inward impulse, under the circumstances, and Luke recalling the joint-action of the Church," Moffatt, *Introd.*, p. 100.

The argument of the Judaizers would naturally be based on their interpretation of the perpetuity of the law and on circumcision as the seal of inheritance of the covenant promise to Abraham. As they, however, had supplemented this by baptism in profession of faith in Christ, they may possibly have demanded on this ground that the Gentiles should supplement their baptism by circumcision and legal observance. From Galatians and Acts we can recognize that the defense of Gentile freedom was based on the divine commission and definite direction for their evangelization, with no reference to other conditions than repentance and faith; on God's gift to them of repentance unto life, Acts 11, 18, and on his opening unto them of a door of faith, 14, 27; on his approval of the ministry of the missionaries, as witnessed in the miracles he granted to be performed in the mission, 14, 3.27; 15, 4.12; and above all on the fact that the Gentile converts had received at their baptism the gift of the Spirit, the supreme messianic blessing, 15, 8; Gal. 3, 2. If Jews already possessing circumcision and law could only receive this gift by fulfilling the conditions for baptism, why should circumcision and law be imposed on Gentile believers already possessing the Spirit?

In Luke's report of the public Conference, it is Peter who advocates Paul's Gospel of freedom, to which Paul had won the three Pillar Apostles in the private Conference, Gal. 2, 1 ff; and which Peter had long before accepted in principle and acted upon in his ministry to Cornelius. The summary of his speech contains his reply to the twofold demand of the Judaizers. He first refers in vss. 6–9 to his special divine commission to admit the Gentiles; and to the divine witness to their right of admission into the Church in their reception of the gift of the Spirit. Circumcision is, therefore, not a condition for Gentile salvation, since they already have the same earnest of it as Jewish believers in their possession of the same indwelling of the Spirit. In vss. 9–11 he

turns to the second demand of the Judaizers: Gentile observance of Mosaic legalism; and again advocates their freedom from it. It was a yoke the Jews were not able to bear; a law they could not fulfill and secure their salvation by obedience to it. It would be a trial of God to impose it on the Gentiles as a condition of salvation. They will be saved like the Jewish Christians by the grace of the Lord Jesus. And he can confidently appeal to his hearers' reliance on this salvation by grace, since otherwise they would not have sought justification by repentance and faith in Christ. James concludes the discussion by first quoting the prediction of Gentile election. This was not merely to prove the teaching of universalism in the Old Testament, with which his hearers would be familiar; but to point out that the prediction had been fulfilled in the election of the Gentiles in vs. 14, and their admission to the Church, although uncircumcised, through Peter's divinely directed ministry to them. He next supports Peter's advocacy of their freedom from Mosaic legalism: not to trouble them, vs. 19; to lay upon them no greater burden than the four necessary things, vs. 29.

It will contribute to the understanding of these four interdictions of the accepted text, to recall at once that by this action of the Conference, Gentile freedom has been won. The victory is recognized in Antioch, 15, 31, where the Church upon reading the epistle, rejoiced for the exhortation, παράκλησις. The South Galatian Churches received the decisions, 16, 5, and were strengthened in faith. And Paul declares, Gal. 2, 6–9, that at the Conference the Pillar Apostles 'imported nothing, added nothing to me, but heartily recognized my mission,' Lightfoot, *in loc.*

Yet with our accepted text of the decision, that victory is at least largely compromised, if not lost. Instead of the freedom of faith, there is imposed upon Gentile believers a series of food precepts, singularly grouped with an injunction against fornication. Hence have been formed critical theories, in some cases denying the authenticity of the decrees, or more usually assigning them to a period later than the Conference.[4] By those, however, who maintain the historicity of the decrees in their present text and position in Acts 15, several distinct explanations of the addition

[4] See Moffatt, *Introduction*, 307 ff. The special literature on the Decrees is listed very fully in K. Six, *Das Apostelдekret*, 1912.

of these injunctions are proposed. Frequently they are regarded as a compromise with the Judaizers' demands of legalistic observances. But the issue between them and Paul admitted of no compromise. Nor could the four prohibitions be a compromise satisfactory to either side. They would be to the Judaizers no possible equivalent for circumcision and the general Jewish ritual and customs. To the Gentile Christians three of the precepts would be viewed as compelling their submission to certain customary Jewish food regulations, even in their private life. A second explanation has therefore been proposed: the four prohibitions were added as conditions of the intercourse of Jewish and Christian disciples in matters of food. Yet these would be far from fulfilling the requirements of Jewish food regulations for those in the Dispersion, as found in the tractate 'Aboda Zara.' And they were not reckoned as sufficient conditions for table-fellowship in the conflict at Antioch, Gal. 2, 11 ff., which, in agreement with Moffatt, p. 101, followed Gal. 2, 1 ff. and Acts 15. Paul's silence concerning the decrees in this passage is not proof of his ignorance of them, but it points to the fact that they were not made with reference to table-fellowship. As stated more generally by Moffatt, 101, Six, 31, and Zahn, *Introd.*, III, 153, they were not concerned with the regulation of the social intercourse of Jewish and Gentile Christians.

For the same reason the more widely accepted explanation offered by Wendt and many others, is inadequate. They hold that the prohibitions are those observed by the godfearers; and are now enjoined as a fitting means to make possible a certain degree of intercourse between circumcised and uncircumcised believers. The Gentile believers could observe the two relating to idolatry and fornication, as agreeing with the Christian moral view; and the other two, out of consideration for the legal restrictions of the Jews. But such compliance could effect no real intercourse. This, moreover, was not the object of the prohibitions. Their direct aim is to declare Gentile freedom from legalism; and the three precepts viewed as food regulations were legalistic.

We notice, however, that in Wendt's view two of the four prohibitions are recognized as moral and not ceremonial prescriptions. This trend is still more noticeable in Hort's discussion, *Jud. Christianity*, 71 ff. The precepts in his view are 'concrete

indications of pure religion and not of Judaism in the exclusive sense. They were none the worse for being coincident with hallowed Jewish laws or traditions, though this was not the source of their authority. It was a clear gain that their agreement with the inherited moral associations of Jews should make the whole arrangement more acceptable to the Jewish party in the Church, since they were not of a nature to suggest any kind of obligation on Gentile converts to obey any part of the Mosaic law.' And he proceeds to develop the spiritual significance of three of the precepts, those concerning idolatry, fornication and blood, as related to communion with God, to the most intimate form of communion with man and to reverence for the mystery of life in abstention from blood. This clearly approximates closely to a recognition of the decrees not as food regulations, but as precepts concerning fundamental moral principles. But the obstacle to a full recognition of this character is the prohibition in our text of 'things strangled.' Hort points out the difficulty caused by its addition to the other precepts, and concludes that it 'must at present be left unsolved.'

In consequence of these several difficulties of conforming not only Gal. 2 but also Luke's evident aim in Acts 15 to record a victory for Gentile freedom, with the view of the decrees as Jewish food rules, which 'things strangled' of our text involves, it has been proposed to reject πνικτοῦ and to regard the three remaining prohibitions as moral prescriptions. In support of this rejection is the historical fact that 'there is no evidence of an exactly corresponding usage in the first or in any earlier century,' Hort, p. 73; and the textual fact that Codex D and several western writers omit πνικτοῦ and add the Golden Rule.[5] The available textual evidence attests the existence of both forms of the text in the middle of the second century. Those who retain the word account for its omission either as accidental, or because the rule had become obsolete, or on account of its obscurity, or as an intentional change 'to do away with the Judaic and ceremonial character of the decrees and to substitute the moral prescription of the Sermon on the Mount.' By those who reject it, its insertion is explained as a

[5] The textual evidence in the apparatus of the critical texts is discussed in Zahn, *Introd.*, III, 33 f.; G. Resch, *T. U.*, Bd. 28, pp. 7 ff.; K. Six, *Aposteldekret*, pp. 6 ff.

transfer to the test of a marginal gloss interpreting the prohibition of blood.[6]

The Western text which omits the word, and the explanation of the precepts as moral rules, is rejected by the majority of scholars. But this view of the decrees is defended by Hilgenfeld, Resch, Harnack and Lake.[7] Adopting this view we find that the recognition by James of Gentile election and his proposal of the three precepts are directly parallel to Peter's advocacy of Gentile freedom from circumcision and legalism. Our conclusion, reversing Wendt's statement, is that the prohibitions are concerned with the general moral behavior which Gentile Christians are to observe without reference to Mosaic law. This concurrence of Gentile freedom from Mosaic law with the duty of fulfillment of all moral law was later formulated by Paul in I Cor. 9, 21: I became 'to them that are without the law, as without the law; not being without law to God, but under law to Christ,' which is 'the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus' Rom. 8, 2.[8] Viewed thus as moral precepts, the prohibitions can be concrete references to duty as related to God, neighbor and self, to use a grouping familiar from the first, in Christ's summary of the law. This is by no means to regard them, with Tertullian in his Montanist period, *De Pudicitia*, 12, as statements of the unpardonableness of the sins of idolatry, homicide and adultery.

Such a summary reference and the definite terms employed in it, naturally present the chief difficulty in accepting this view. To

[6] Six, who regards the precepts as food rules, admits the uncertainty of πνικτοῦ being in the original text; and advances the conjecture that it was included in the proposal of James, but omitted in the decrees, either for brevity or as being included in the interdiction of blood. Later the texts were conformed in the manuscripts of the Orient, where familiarity with Semitic food rules would justify the explanatory addition. A. Seeberg, *Die beiden Wege*, p. 82 f., had earlier conjectured that James had proposed four rules, but consented to the adoption of but two: the prohibition of the specific heathen sins of eating things sacrificed to idols and fornication. Later, the other two injunctions were added from the Jewish Two Ways.

[7] Hilgenfeld, *Z. f. wiss. Theol.*, 1899, p. 147 ff.; and *Acta Apost.*, 247 ff.; G. Resch, *T. U.*, 1905, Bd. 28.H.3, pp. 1–179; Harnack, *Acts*, p. 248 ff.; Lake, *Rev. of Theol. and Philosophy*, 1905, pp. 391 ff.; and *Church Quarterly Review*, 1911, p. 345 ff.

[8] I Cor. 9, 21. Τοῖς ἀνόμοις ὡς ἄνομος, μὴ ὢν ἄνομος θεοῦ ἀλλ' ἔννομος χριστοῦ.

remove it, the following considerations may be offered. The fact of compression is not in itself strange. The prohibitions are given as the conclusion of the speech of James, which is not further reported in the condensed narrative. Similarly they are next referred to only in the conclusion of the brief commendatory letter for Silas and Judas, who are to report διὰ λόγου the action of the Conference which is therefore compressed in the summary of the precepts. Further they are to be understood as summing up the fundamental topics of moral instruction given to converts. This is indicated in part by the negative form, which is a characteristic of Jewish moral catechetical moral teaching, cf. the Didache, 1–6, and of its parallels in the New Testament; and was obviously specially suited for converts from heathen immorality. The three topics, moreover, are the essential subjects of the instruction in the literature of the Jewish propaganda. And further, they reappear freely developed in various combinations and definite applications in the hortatory sections of the New Testament Epistles. In particular their amplification appears in the numerous sin-lists throughout the New Testament. It will be found that the longer lists and the extended general moral exhortations tend to groupings around these three precepts. An interesting instance of the controlling position of idolatry, fornication and murder in the sin-lists will appear upon a comparison of the lists in Rev. 9, 20 ff.; 21, 8; and 22, 15. The clearest illustration is given in Paul's summary of his Gentile propaganda preaching, Rom. 1, 18 ff. He there first denounces idolatry, vss. 18–23; next sins of personal impurity, vss. 24–28; then in vss. 28–32 is his list of 21 or 22 vices in the sphere of τὰ μὴ καθήκοντα: failures in 'duties which concern mankind in general,' and whose practicers are worthy of death.[9] In the earlier list, Gal. 5, 19, which he reminds them is already familiar from the preparatory moral instruction, all three topics of the precepts are expanded: first, three sins of impurity; next, two relative to idolatry, with which may be compared the lists already cited from the Revelation; concluding with ten sins against men. All three classes of sins occur again in I C. 5, 9, and 11; and 6, 9. In these is illustrated the freedom in compressing the lists in the

[9] θεοστυγεῖς is not an exception: "ubique significat hominem *Dis hominibusque* exosum, *i. e.*, hominem insigniter improbum," Fritzsche, Ep. ad Rom. I, 85.

primitive catechism, cp. 6, 9, and in amplifying any or all the three precepts of the Conference. The two separated lists in II Cor. 12, 20 f., are grouped respectively as sins against men and as sins of impurity. The two lists in I Pet. 4, 3 and 15, cover in the first group impurities and idolatries; and in the other, sins against men.

The exhortations against sins against 'the neighbor,' Ephes. 4, 25 ff., which are contrasted in 5, 2 with ' the walk in love,' are followed by those against the sin of fornication and its approaches, concluding with ὅ ἐστιν εἰδωλολάτρης. The Colossian parallel presents at 3, 5, a list relating to fornication, again ending with a reference to idolatry; next, at vs. 8, a list of sins towards men, which is contrasted with a related list of duties to men, vs. 12.13, which are summed up, vs. 14, in love as the bond of perfectness. We also find parallels to 'briefly comprehending in one word' each of these fundamental breaches of morality, in the summing up the precepts of all duty to man as 'love,' Rom. 13, 8; Gal. 5, 14; cp. Ephes. 5, 12 as the summary with οὖν of 4, 25–32; and Col. 3, 14, of vss. 12.13. In the Epistle of James 2, 8, this love of neighbor has itself the title of the Royal Law, βασιλικόν, as supreme and as controlling all phases of duty to man.

The special difficulty remains: James's recapitulation of prohibitions of sins against men as 'abstinence from blood.' The possibility of such a compressed figurative use of blood for murder, is given in the fact that the Epistle of James is likewise characterized throughout by terse, epigrammatic, graphic expressions. It is more definitely suggestive that in the passage Jas. 4, 1 ff., obscure by very reason of its abrupt, vigorous and bold figures, we find the sins of lust, selfishness and jealous hatred of men characterized as wars, battles and even murders by those who are denounced as adulteresses and enemies of God. Paul too has summed up the issues of sins against men, Gal. 5, 13, in a figure of destruction comparable to that of the 'blood' in the summary of James. The Galatians are as in Acts 15 called to freedom, which yet is coincident with the duty of mutual service in love. And as the whole law is fulfilled in the one saying 'thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself' so its nonfulfillment is expressed in 'biting, devouring and being destroyed by each other': δάκνετε, κατεσθίετε, ἀναλωθῆτε. One further parallel to this summing up of sins against man as

murder, destruction or 'blood,' occurs in I John 3, 11 ff. The antithesis of brotherly love is Cain who slew his brother, and that because his works were wicked. And likewise every one who hates his brother, is a manslayer. Here then we recognize the basis of this view of murder and blood as the outcome of sin against brother men, in the Sermon on the Mount, Mtw. 5, 21: *οὐ φονεύσεις* includes prohibition of anger, of bitter and contemptuous speech as approaches to murder. And *οὐ μοιχεύσεις* too includes the initial lustful glance, and as in Ephes. 5, 3, all phases and forms of impurity.

Another illustration of the view here taken of the prohibitions as moral injunctions may be added from the Didache, chap. 3. First remarking that the exhortations against the sins of the Way of Death, begin with murder, fornication and idolatry, we notice next that these terms sum up the issues of special sins. "Be not prone to anger, for anger leads to murder; nor jealous, nor contentious, nor wrathful; for of all these, murders are engendered. My child, be not lustful, for lust leads to fornication; nor foul-speaking, nor with uplifted eyes; for of all these adulteries are engendered. My child be not a dealer in omens, since it leads to idolatry; nor an enchanter, nor an astrologer, nor a magician, nor be willing to look at them; for of all these, idolatry is engendered."

Holding that the injunctions of Acts 15 are recapitulations of fundamental moral law, we recognize in the further statement that only their observance is necessary for Gentile converts, that the whole question of Gentile freedom from Mosaic legalism was then definitively settled. This Jewish Christian recognition of 'the equal validity of a Christianity not bound by the law, could not indeed but react on men's thoughts on their own relation to the law,' Hort, *Jud. Christianity*, 82. As we know, it led eventually to their recognition of the breaking down of the middle wall of partition, the law of commandments, whereby the Gentiles are fellow-citizens with the saints and are of the household of God, Ephes. 2, 14–22; and that in Christ Jesus there can be neither Jew nor Greek, for all are one man in him, Gal. 3, 23–29. But the New Testament writings and the history of the Jewish Christian sects in the succeeding centuries [10] reveal that the course of this develop-

[10] Lightfoot, *Gal.* 3d ed., 300 ff.; Hort, *Jud. Christianity*, 164 ff.; Hoennicke, *op. cit.*, p. 177 ff., 225 ff.

ment was from the first opposed by the irreconcilable Judaizing element of the Palestinian Church.

We learn of their initial success at Antioch in Gal. 2, 11 ff., where they were able to dissuade Peter and Barnabas from continuance of their table-fellowship with the Gentile Christians. That these two Jewish Christians should have thus met on equal footing with converted Gentiles, attests their acceptance of the full equality of Gentiles in the Christian Brotherhood. Upon this principle Peter had acted at Cæsarea, and presumably Barnabas also in his association with Paul in the mission work as well as at Antioch. It was in fact involved in the action of the Jerusalem Conference, cp. Bacon, *Story of St. Paul*, 143. Their withdrawal therefore from table-fellowship is openly denounced by Paul as 'hypocrisy': 'the assumption of a part which masked their genuine feelings and made them appear otherwise than they were,' Lightfoot *in loco*; *i. e.*, with Bacon, 140, 'they were false to their acknowledged principles.' The suggestion of Hort, p. 78, seems probable: that they were persuaded thus to dissimulate by 'a plausible plea of inopportuneness. Now that we know what offense our fraternizing will give at Jerusalem, we will cease from it, without rejecting them or telling them to be circumcised.' But in such separation, Paul might well detect the aim of the Judaizers to reduce the uncircumcised converts to the position of the godfearers in Judaism. And he therefore denounces Peter's withdrawal not only as inconsistency but also as tantamount to a declaration that fullness of Christian life is the privilege of Jewish Christians only, and thereby as a compulsion of the Gentiles seeking this fullness, to become and to live as Jews. This, however, is not only a contradiction of the emancipating action of the Conference; but beyond that, it is a denial of the truth of the Gospel, to which Peter himself had borne witness in his speech at Jerusalem: that both Jew and Gentile are saved through the grace of the Lord Jesus; and hence through law we have died unto law that we may live unto God.

From Paul's later references to Peter, and especially from I Peter, it has been generally concluded that Peter accepted the rebuke and the full issues of the principle of the common salvation and Gospel freedom. But whatever the outcome in this instance, we next find the Judaizers taking a still bolder line. At Antioch

they had dissuaded Jewish leaders from intercourse with Gentile believers; now in the field of Paul's first mission they proceed to detach Gentile converts themselves from their Apostle and his teaching. Their method in this counter-mission is distinctly reflected in Paul's counter attack upon them in the Epistle to the Galatians. Regarding this as his earliest letter, written from Greece in the second missionary journey, we conclude that his opponents intruded themselves into the Galatian churches directly after they had received the Jerusalem decision from Paul, and had by him been strengthened in the faith, Acts 16, 4. It could be anticipated that at this juncture their endeavor 'to shake the allegiance' of the Galatians and 'to reverse the Gospel' which they had accepted, Gal. 1, 7, would be related to their own interpretation of the decision of the Conference, and to their attitude towards Paul, his teaching and its issues. And in fact we recognize from the letter the controlling features of their constant attack. It was based negatively on their discrediting the personal character and the aims of Paul, as seeking to please men by offering them emancipation from law; by disparaging his Apostolic authority and competence, in contrasting him with the Jerusalem Apostles; and thereby denying the validity and sufficiency of his Gospel.

Recognizing no doubt, in connection with the action of the Conference, the divine calling of the Gentiles, their gift of the Spirit and their freedom, as uncircumcised Gentiles, from legalism, they yet bewitched them with the warning that all this wasbut introductory to a full participation in the privileges of the Church of Israel's Messiah. Since the entire doctrinal defense of Paul's Gospel centers in the discussion of the promise to Abraham and of the purpose and perpetuity of the law, it may reasonably be inferred that the Judaizers insisted that inheritance of the covenant promises to Abraham and his seed was conditioned upon acceptance of circumcision; and that the life of the circumcised must be under the divinely given and perpetual law of Moses. Under the conditions of life in the Dispersion, a full and strict observance may not have been urged. But from circumcision no dispensation was possible; even Paul, they charged, 5, 11, still preaches circumcision on occasion. Without it, the Galatians could have been warned by the Judaizers that they were still in the position of godfearers, though keeping the Jerusalem injunctions and now adopting observance of

Jewish holy days. But they were not yet members of the Israel of God, and their boasted liberty would be found to be an occasion for immorality, cp. 5, 13.

It was the Judaistic attack along these or closely similar lines, that called forth the apology and polemic of the Apostle's weightiest Epistles for the establishment of faith in the Apostolic age; and as the foundation of the Christian philosophy of salvation and of Christian freedom of faith, in all later ages. In Galatians, against the personal attacks, he gives at once his apologia for his divinely commissioned Apostleship; the recognition of it and of his Gospel by the Jerusalem Apostles; and his vindication of the full issues of this Gospel in the equality of Jew and Gentile in the Church, even against the temporizing of Peter and Barnabas. In support of the truth and power of his Gospel, he can appeal directly to the religious experience of his readers. Through his ministry they had at the beginning received the gift of the Spirit, in which also by faith they wait for the hope of righteousness, 3, 3; 5, 5. This gift, the supreme blessing, the law could not provide; and the law therefore is not needed to supplement or perfect it. The Judaizers' arguments from the promise to Abraham and from the law are then turned against them by his establishment of the justification of Abraham by faith, of sonship to Abraham by faith, of the transitory nature of the law and of its function to "lead the way for the dispensation of faith.' Any suggestion or proposal of a partial observance of the law upon accepting circumcision, is repelled with the warning that no compromise is possible between seeking salvation by a complete fulfillment of law, and by an absolute reliance on divine grace. And finally, life in the Spirit, in the freedom for which Christ set us free, will give the inner illumination and invigoration for the fulfillment of the whole law, which is summed up in love.

His success in establishing the Galatians by this defense of his Apostleship and gospel, is concluded by B. Weiss, *Introd.*, § 18. 6. n. 2, from the fact that 'no historical trace indicates that he ever again had need to warn the Galatian churches against reversion to Jewish legalism.' It could in addition be recognized from the fact of his repetition and development of the teachings of Galatians in the Epistle to the Romans, as an already assured means for their establishment. It is now very generally accepted

that the Church of Rome was composed predominantly of Gentiles; and that no local judaistic agitation is presupposed in the Epistle. The presence of this prominent anti-judaistic element in the letter is accounted for as a summing up for the Romans, in case his proposed visit to them should be prevented, of the result of his successful vindication of his Gospel, in order to guard them against any possible attack by his judaizing opponents.

Yet concerning their later movements in the Apostolic Age, we have at most only indirect allusions. As McGiffert concludes, *Apos. Age*, p. 228: 'There is no sign in any other of Paul's Epistles that the judaizers were causing him serious trouble; his victory over them seems to have been complete, p. 232; and p. 389, we have no trace of their activity in any part of his missionary field,' in the interval between Galatians and Philippians, and, as he decides, not in that Epistle or later. The absence of any allusion to them in I and II Thess. shows that they had not advanced into Macedonia. Nor, as will appear later, are they to be recognized in those who in Corinth say 'I am of Cephas, I am of Christ' "It is at least remarkable that the (first) epistle is to all appearances free from direct or indirect warnings against judaistic limitations of the gospel," Hort, *op. cit.*, p. 95. McGiffert, p. 315, distinguishes the opposing Jewish Christians of II Cor. from the Judaizers; and we also follow him in failing to find a reference to Judaizers at Rome in Php. 1, 15 ff., or in the opponents denounced in Chap. 3, although we cannot adopt his view that the latter were unbelieving Jews.

The calmer tone of Romans in summing up his antijudaistic arguments, reveals increasing confidence of success in repelling any attack from that quarter. In Ephesians at length is heard the distinct note of assured triumph. To account for this we have indeed no knowledge of Judaistic attack and defeat in Asia or in Rome. Nor can the altered tone of Ephesians be due, as has been suggested by Hort, to a slackening of the attack parallel to Paul's enforced inactivity during the imprisonments at Cæsarea and Rome. Clearly his retirement from the scene would be his opponents' opportunity. But intervening between Romans and Ephesians is his last visit to Jerusalem, and Luke's account of his welcome there by James and the elders; and his two years' imprisonment at Cæsarea, in which Felix permitted his friends to minister to him. Why should not the Jerusalem leaders, who

unwittingly had put him in this peril of life, avail themselves of this opportunity to visit him? In such most probable conferences, and certainly in conferences with the Palestinian Christians of the church at Cæsarea, the way was opened for any needed mutual understandings, and for a general Jewish Christian recognition of the full membership of Gentiles in the one Church of Christ. One means in particular may have been Paul's repudiation, as in Rom. 3, 8; chaps. 6 and 7, of the perversions of his teaching of justification and freedom by his antinomian opponents, against whom both Pauline and Palestinian Christians needed to work together, as against a common enemy.

The unknown course of events in the two years of Roman imprisonment may also have contributed to the concord. This result, whatever may have directly led to it, is the ground of the exultant doxology and thanksgiving of Ephesians. Instead of the earlier defense and polemic against the Judaizers, there is now assurance of the unity of Jewish and Gentile Christians in Christ who is our peace; who has made both one; who has abolished the law of commandments in ordinances; through whom both have access in one Spirit unto the Father, and are of the same heavenly citizenship, divine household, and are on the same foundation builded together for an habitation of God through the Spirit, Ephes. 2, 11–22. That this is not merely Paul's spiritual ideal his shown in the same recognition in I Peter, written also to Asia but a few years later, of the union of Jew and Gentile as one people of God, living stones built up as a spiritual house, to be a holy priesthood to offer up spiritual sacrifices, 2, 4–10.

We shall in the next chapter assign most of the remaining references to Jewish Christian opponents of Paul, who are usually regarded as Judaizers, to a separate movement; and there are few other probable allusions to the activity of Judaizers in the rest of the New Testament writings, except it be in the Gospels. They as well as the Epistles were written for establishment in the faith. And their selection of Christ's teachings could certainly have been influenced by the need of basing the Church's recognition of the full membership of Gentiles, though uncircumcised and free from legalism, upon his principles of universalism and higher fulfillment of law and on his commission to admit the nations into his Church by baptism. But decision as to definite allusions in

the Gospels to the Judaistic controversy or its stages, is affected by the present disagreement as to their dates. Moffatt, *Introd.*, p. 255, among the characteristics of Matthew, views our First Evangelist as a Jewish Christian 'bringing forth out of his treasures, things new and old'; who presents both particularistic and catholic Sayings; the Jewish Christian traits of his Gospel being due both to Palestinian traditions and to the thesis of his own work, viz., that Christianity as the new law and righteousness of God had superseded the old as a revelation of God to men. Moffatt, however, assigns our Matthew to the period 75–90 A. D. Yet if it was written at the end of the seventh decade, or with Allen, still earlier, it too would serve among its other aims for establishment in the universalism and freedom of the Gospel as represented by I Peter, written probably but a few years earlier.

Our present purpose has been to follow the rise and progress of the movement; and we have found that already in the seventh decade of the first century, it has been definitely repelled by representatives of both Gentile and Palestinian Christians. It however still persisted as a force to be most seriously reckoned with; although it naturally became less positively aggressive in Gentile churches, established in faith and freedom by Paul; and less and less influential in Jewish Christian Churches, especially after the crisis of A. D. 70, which finally led to distinct organizations of the Judaistic element. Their later history is traced in the special works already referred to, note 10.

Reference may be made at this point to the possibility of another controversy originating from Jewish circles, viz., from the School of John the Baptist's disciples. After their report of his death to Jesus, Mtw. 14, 12, no mention of them is made until a quarter of a century later. Then Apollos arrives at Ephesus, knowing only John's baptism; which points to their survival in Alexandria. And shortly after, Paul meets at Ephesus with twelve disciples having only John's baptism, and ignorant of any other, Acts 18, 24–19, 7. Yet Apollos is presented as a Christian who has been instructed in the Way of the Lord, and who also taught accurately *τὰ περὶ των Ἰησοῦ*, Luke's frequent phrase for Gospel preaching. The twelve men are also regarded by Luke as *μαθηταί*; and Paul's inquiry, 19, 2, assumes at least that they professed to be believers, *πιστεύσαντες*. The fact of the survival of John's

disciples, especially in the Dispersion, presents no difficulty; but that Apollos and the others knew only of John's baptism and yet are connected with the Christian movement, demands the illumination of more detailed information than our source furnishes. Nevertheless it is clear that it is still a Jewish messianist movement. Apollos especially is mighty in the Scriptures, *i. e.*, from the context, in the messianic prophecies, cp. 18, 28. Further, it is in no conscious rivalry or opposition to the Gospel. There is no indication that Luke's mention of the incidents is intended as an allusion to a Baptist propaganda. Apollos is introduced and characterized in connection with his prominence and his effective work in Ephesus and Corinth. Both in his case and in that of the twelve, Luke's interest in relating their fuller instruction in the Gospel and the Christian baptism and spiritual gifts of the twelve, seems to be to show, as in his Gospel, that the preparatory ministry and preaching of John received its fulfillment in discipleship to Christ. It would also be reasonable to conclude from the character of these references in Acts, that the writer indicates by means of these instances that the surviving groups of John's disciples tended in general not to competition and controversy with the Gospel mission, but to a receptive attitude towards it and to amalgamation with it.

Nothing further is known of their activity until, in any case, near the close of the first century. The Synoptic Gospels, cp. also Acts 10, 37 f.; 13, 24 f., which appeared in this interval and probably within its earlier half, do not reveal any antagonism or controversy between the followers of Christ and John, at the time of their composition. Baldensperger [11] agrees that 'in the circles in which the Third Gospel arose, nothing was yet known of an open enmity of John's disciples towards Christianity.' His birth, preaching and baptism are recorded as a divinely predicted and approved preparation and witness for the Gospel. His message 'Art thou he that should come or look we for another,' is frankly reported from Q by Matthew and Luke, with no suggestion that it was being exploited by his later disciples; but as the occasion of Christ's vindication both of his own messianic ministry of mercy, and of the exalted character and office of the Baptist. No trace of antagonism to the Baptist's disciples is discernible in the Synoptic ref-

[11] *Der Prolog des vierten Evangeliums*, p. 137.

erences to their fasts and prayers. The detailed report of John's death reveals the abiding interest and the reverence of the Christian Church for his character, work and relation to the Gospel, which is perfectly expressed in the collect of the Western Church for the feast of his Nativity.

In the Fourth Gospel, however, it is very generally held by critics of various schools, that the marked and repeated emphasis on the contrast between Christ and the Baptist may suggest the Evangelist's interest in counteracting thereby the claims of some who are asserting the superiority of John; cp. 1, 8.15.20 ff.; 3, 26 ff.; 4, 1; 5, 35.36, especially if with Zahn and von Soden we read μείζων; and 10, 41. Baldensperger in the work cited above argues that this contrast is made in denial of the claims of the sect of the Baptist's disciples, and that their refutation is not merely a subordinate aim or confined to the passages mentioned, but is one of the strongest motives, p. 153, the aim or the principal aim, p. 165, in the composition of the Gospel. He accordingly interprets both details of the narrative and the development of the theology as an apologetic polemic against the attacks of the School of the Baptist. He has first to account for their antagonism in this late period by such conjectures as that the success of the Gospel mission in drawing away their disciples, *e. g.*, Acts 19, 1 ff., embittered those who still adhered to their School, p. 107 f. Their developing conception of the person and office of John could be based on Christian tradition and writings; especially upon Jesus' testimony that he was a prophet and more than a prophet, p. 134. In Luke's account of the Baptist's birth, they could find so many messianic features that the forerunner was advanced hazardously near the Messiah; and only one step more was needed to remove John entirely from subordination to Jesus and to place him directly alongside or even above Jesus, as the disciples of the Baptist are reported to have done in the Clementine Recognitions, I, 60. Next, on these assumptions their polemic against Christianity, p. 116 ff., is a matter of conjectural reconstruction from the Johannine literature; though it is admitted that their own views and peculiar doctrines cannot thus be so well recognized. Baldensperger's discussion of his positions are more directly related to the criticism of the Fourth Gospel, than to the history of the controversy to which he believes it to point. His hypotheses as to

the origin of an antagonism of the Baptist's followers are too insecure to form a probable basis for his construction of their assumed polemic. And on his own view, p. 139 n., the School soon shrivelled up into a harmless sect, and had become in the age of Justin Martyr a negligible quantity, cp. Dial. with Trypho, ch. 8, 49 and 88; although he insists that in the Apostolic and Post-Apostolic age it played a greater part than has been recognized, p. 151.[12]

Weinel has developed the theory by asserting that the antagonism is found not only in the Fourth Gospel, but appears also in the earlier period of the composition of the Synoptics. In these and Acts and in an assumed addition in Q, 'he that is but little in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he,' Mtw. 11, 11, he asserts that there has been a distinct transformation of the tradition, with a creative apologetic purpose, to meet the claims of a competing mission and baptism of John's disciples.[13] Wrede, however, while recognizing the possibility of the existence of groups of Baptist disciples when the Fourth Gospel appeared, though what we actually know is extremely scanty; and also the possibility that the Gospel along with its opposition to Jews, contains a second antithesis against these disciples of John, proposes another explanation: that it is directed against a Jewish exploitation of John as greater than Jesus. In such a case there would be no direct controversy with John's disciples, nor any need to assume a competing School of the Baptist. He leaves the question open.[14] Not so Wernle. In his view John's references to the Baptist complete a transparent apologetic already found in Matthew and Luke, which was framed to correct the Christian tradition and to meet Jewish objections of the inferiority of Jesus to John, based upon it. He finds in Luke no reason for the conclusion that there

[12] J. B. Lightfoot, *Colossians*, 402 f., also emphasizes the influence of the School of the Baptist, and sees in the Fourth Gospel evidence of its direct antagonism: setting up John as a rival messiah. A. Blakiston, *John Baptist and his Relation to Jesus*, 1912, also holds that the Fourth Gospel is directed against the School of the Baptist. Sanday, *Criticism of the Fourth Gospel*, p. 84, grants that 'there may be a certain amount of polemical or apologetic reference to such a sect.'

[13] *Biblische Theologie d. Neuen Tests.*, § 96. Die Polemik gegen den Täufer, 462 ff.

[14] Wrede, *Vorträge u. Studien*, p. 226.

was a historical conflict between Christian and Baptist disciples; or that the Fourth Gospel was called forth in any way by the Sect of the Baptist.[15]

We have concluded with him, whatever may have been the occasion of the contrast between Christ and the Baptist in the Fourth Gospel, that it was not due to a controversy with the School of John. Moffatt, *Introd.* 531, holds that it is more likely that the polemic does not represent a direct allusion to some contemporary sect of John's disciples; but forms part of the general anti-Jewish tendency of the Gospel, and is at best subordinate. But Bacon's remark, *Story of St. Paul*, 180, that 'Gnosticism fastened upon the leaderless Johannine movement with even greater ease and avidity than upon Christianity,' suggests the possibility that the manner of presentation in the Fourth Gospel of the relation of Christ and the Baptist points neither to a controversy with the School of the Baptist nor to Jewish exploitation of the Baptist against Jesus; but to attempts of intruding gnostic teachers to support their tenets by some misuse of the Gospel tradition concerning the Baptist. Moffatt, p. 153, mentions that Michaelis thought of the connection of disciples of the Baptist with the Colossian heresy. Zahn too recognizes that the polemic in the Baptist passages of the Fourth Gospel is subordinate to the Evangelist's polemic against gnostic errors. While he is disposed to regard, though in our opinion without sufficient warrant, these errors as originating with some element among the Baptist's disciples, he is yet careful not to define the polemic as directed against the Baptist School as such. "It is natural to suppose that the after effects of the wrong attitude which a part of John's disciples took towards Jesus, were connected with, or contributed to, the origin of the movement which John opposes by his strong emphasis on the incarnation, the truly human life and death of Jesus, as well upon his bodily resurrection," *Introd.* III, 323. Still more definitely, III, 367 f., he ascribes the false teaching opposed in the First Epistle of John, to Cerinthus. In view of the statement that he came from Egypt, and of the fact that Apollos in Alexandria knew only the baptism of John, he finds a new support for the hypothesis of a movement connected with the circle of John's disciples, which upon its external acceptance into the Church in Asia did not give up in principle its peculiar

[15] *Zeitschrift f. d. N. T. Wissenschaft*, 1900, p. 48 ff.; 53 f.

opinions. In contrast to this construction which seeks to explain the Baptist passages by some relation of the false teachers with his School or with a portion of it, it seems that they are more simply and adequately accounted for by the perversion of the Gospel tradition concerning the Baptist, by gnostics who could intrude into the Church from other directions, in order to support their doctrines, and especially their Christology. While we therefore find neither in Acts nor John evidence of a direct controversy with the School of the Baptist, we can recognize that perverted views of his relation to Jesus were a subordinate part of another internal controversy which we have still to consider.

CHAPTER VIII

THE INTRUDING GNOSTIC TEACHINGS

It has been generally recognized that in addition to the Judaizing attack, there are references in the later New Testament Epistles, especially in Colossians, the Pastorals, certain of the Catholic Epistles and in the Revelation, to the existence and activity of a distinct class of errorists. Their characterization has necessarily influenced New Testament criticism, conceptions of the historical movements of the Apostolic and of the Post-Apostolic Age, and constructions of the development of New Testament theology; as well as the exegesis of the large sections concerned with their teachings. The need therefore is evident of the attempts to distinguish, so far as our data permit, this movement and the controversy growing out of it.

The Tübingen School found such intimate relation between the New Testament references to these errorists and the second-century gnosticism, that it concluded that the New Testament Epistles containing them must be productions of the second century. And because of the literary relation of such Epistles with several other New Testament books, these too were involved in this late dating and therefore in the denial of genuineness. Such denials were of course combined with other lines of critical attack. The obvious methods of meeting this assertion of second-century origin were first, to deny where possible the gnostic character of the false teachings. Thus the Roman Catholic scholars Rohr and Wurm still maintain the view that not only in I Cor. but also in I John, we have references simply to Judaizing perversions. More frequently the references to false teaching are regarded as pointing merely to gnosticism in its incipiency, and as confined to I John, near the close of the first century. And in the case of Epistles traditionally assigned to a generation earlier, the references were explained as due to local influences, as in the Colossian heresy; or to an Alexandrian influence, often referred to

Apollos as its initiator; or in some cases the allusions to erroneous teachings were viewed as later interpolations.[1]

But increasing agreement as to the results of studies in late Judaism on one hand, and in second-century gnosticism on the other hand, and of the connection of both with the history of Oriental and of Græco-Roman religions, has made possible a new construction of the New Testament references to the presence and teachings of a class of opponents distinct from the Judaizers. It is indicated in the now familiar phrase of Pre-Christian Gnosticism. Thus the possible allusions in the New Testament to gnostic lines of thought, cease to be in themselves proofs of second-century composition. The usual phrases, pre-gnostic, incipient gnostic, semi-gnostic features in the New Testament, have now to be understood not as the earliest references to gnosticism in general, but to the early stages of the special gnosticism of the second Christian century.

The prominence and importance of the New Testament treatment of this false teaching which was distinct from Judaizing opposition and was in some relation to gnostic systems, was already recognized before the period of modern New Testament criticism and of the study of the History of Religions. In the seventeenth century Hammond had advocated the view of continuous allusion to gnostics in the Epistles, both in his Annotations and in a special treatise.[2] Edward Burton's Bampton Lectures, 1829, *The Heresies of the Apostolic Age*, contain in the appended volume of notes constant references to the literature up to his time, in which the relation of gnosticism to New Testament teachings is discussed. Lutterbeck, *Die Neutestamentlichen Lehrbegriffe*, 1852, has in several points anticipated more recent views as to the early emergence and prominence of a Jewish gnostic movement intruding into Christianity, cp. I, 268 ff., 445; II, 3–78. But his theories failed to win acceptance or detailed discussion, owing to their basis on premature generalizations and on arbitrary schemes of the origin and development of gnosis in the

[1] So Pfleiderer, *Urchristm.*, 1.231, follows Schmiedel and Brückner in regard to Philippians, 2, 6 ff.

[2] H. Hammond, *Works*, 1684, Vol. II and Vol. IV, pp. 713 ff., De Antichristo, de Mysterio iniquitatis, de Diotrephe et ἐν παρόδῳ de gnosticis sub Apostolorum ævo prodeuntibus.

Apostolic Age. Since then there have been numerous special studies on the errorists referred to in separate New Testament writings. They have not, however, been generally interested in tracing the possible connections of the false teachings as phases of development of one or more opposing movements. In many cases, moreover, they have been controlled by the tendency to view them as forms or outgrowths of the Judaistic controversy alone. And their conclusions have also often been influenced by critical presuppositions as to the date and authorship of the writings in which they occur. The well-known works on the Apostolic Age and on New Testament Theology have of course proceeded more constructively. The most recent work, and indeed presented as preparatory studies to a work on the Apostolic Age, is W. Lütgert's series of monographs covering already nine Pauline Epistles and I John.[3] In these he maintains, and we hold successfully, that from the beginning the Christian Church faced opponents on two fronts: Judaizers and perverters of Christian freedom.

Further progress may be expected along the lines of contemporary studies in the History of Religions, and especially from the results of investigation of the contemporary and pre-Christian Jewish mysticism. For it is more and more clearly recognized that there were besides Pharisaism with consequent emergence of the Judaistic controversy, speculative movements among the Jews, and in particular among those in the Dispersion. On the other hand, recent research in second-century gnosticism and its origins, make possible more exact comparisons and conclusions regarding the character and development of gnostic tendencies and influences in the New Testament writings. Similarly the advancing studies of the contemporary Græco-Roman syncretistic cults, open up questions of the possible relations between them and special topics of New Testament teaching.

The characteristic features of second-century gnosticism are presented in all the encyclopedias, church histories and histories of dogma, with references to the special treatises on the system, its origin, sources and structure, and to monographs on its various

[3] *Freiheitspredigt u. Schwarmgeister in Korinth: Ein Beitrag zur Charakteristik der Christuspartei*, 1908; *Die Irrlehrer der Pastoralbriefe*, 1909; *Die Vollkommenen in Philipperbrief u. die Enthusiasten in Thessalonich*, 1909; *Amt u. Geist in Kampf*, 1911; *Der Römerbrief als historisches Problem*, 1915.

sects. For the purpose of keeping in view the possibilities of correspondence between it and the teaching of New Testament errorists now to be examined, we may here refer to its outstanding features as sketched in the summaries of Köhler and Harnack.[4] Gnosis is revealed knowledge of salvation by means of emancipation of the human spirit from matter and by its conquest of the cosmic powers in its ascent to the pleroma, the perfection of the Godhead. Such means and certainty of salvation are secured by cultic actions in the mysteries and initiations. The system includes a cosmology, a drama of the world's origin, resting on a theory of metaphysical dualism in which God is pure Spirit, and matter an independent principle inherently evil. The necessary relations between God and creation are mediated by a theory of emanations. Creation itself is the work of a subordinate demiurge. On the same dualistic principle the Redeemer is divided into the heavenly æon Christ and his human appearance in Jesus. Since the Christ is incapable of suffering, he is only related to Jesus by some docetic method; and his redemption can have no connection with an atoning death on the Cross. 'Christ redeems because he has shown the way, and has overcome the demons.' Christian eschatology is necessarily also rejected. In ethics on the dualistic basis, gnostic systems developed either in the direction of asceticism or libertinism. The Old Testament was by some rejected radically; by others it was utilized in selections. New Testament writings were adapted to gnostic speculation by means of allegory, and supplemented by alleged secret tradition. The Church was converted 'into the college of the pneumatic, alone capable of gnosis and the divine life, while the others as the hylic, perish'; though the Valentinians and some others recognized a middle class of the psychic 'capable of a certain blessedness and knowledge of the supersensible, through Christian faith.'

It is not, however, our purpose to attempt the construction of a

[4] W. Köhler, Rges. Vbuch. IV, 6, 1911: *Die Gnosis*, p. 19 ff. Harnack, *History of Dogma*, I, p. 252 ff.: The most important gnostic doctrines. W. Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, 1907, discusses the fundamental doctrines of the gnostic systems, pp. 319–328. W. Anz, 1897, had already maintained in *Texte u. Untersuchungen*, XV, 4, that the central doctrine uniting the many disparate elements of gnosticism, was salvation by the ascent of the soul from the tyranny of the world-powers to the supreme God and the blessedness of the freedom of the pleroma.

theory of the gnostic element in the New Testament by the method of paralleling the correspondences between it and the gnostic systems of the next century. We shall restrict our discussion in the following chapters to an investigation of the earliest New Testament data as to the nature of an opposing teaching of a gnostic character. If we can thus reach definite results regarding its contents, spirit and tendencies, we can more clearly determine what conditions of religious thought seem to be postulated for its emergence, and what historical development might logically be expected. A comparison of results with the increasingly recognized results of the study of religious thought before, during and after the Apostolic Age, will of course remain as a necessary check upon our conclusions as to this New Testament polemic against a false teaching distinct from the Judaizing movement.

1. THE THESSALONIAN EPISTLES

Turning therefore to the first group of the Pauline Epistles, we find no reference to such a movement in Galatians, which on the South Galatian theory can be regarded as the earliest of the Apostle's extant Letters. In the Thessalonians, however, written from Corinth at the beginning of the fifth decade, we meet with a definite polemic against a special perversion of the Pauline teaching. Almost always this controversial element is viewed as due to attack upon the Apostle by unbelieving Jews. Such attack would naturally consist of denial of the original propaganda preaching that Jesus is Messiah. Yet there is in the Epistle no reaffirmation of the original apologetic from prophecy, the witness of Jesus' life, words and deeds, his resurrection and the believers' gift of the Spirit. On the contrary his only reference to the Jews, I Thess. 2, 14 ff., is in regard to their persecution of his converts for their stedfastness in the faith that Jesus is the Christ. In reference to this tribulation, the first Epistle is a stimulation of the patience inspired by the Christian hope of glory at the Parousia of Christ.

But there is much more in these Epistles which points beyond persecution by the Jews; or in Moffatt's view by pagans under Jewish instigation. Lipsius, *Stud. u. Krit.* 1854, 905 ff., cited by Moffatt, therefore proposed the theory of a defense against a Judaizing attack. Yet again it is difficult to detect any reference to such a Judaizing opposition. For we find no allusions to the

matters around which this controversy centered: circumcision, legalism, Sabbath, privileges of Israel and universalism. The summary of salvation, II Thess. 2, 13 f., is not framed to meet a Judaistic perversion. Salvation, in this statement, is 'in consecration of the Spirit and faith in the truth.' This is a view in which every Judaizer would share. And if, as may be, a special formulation is here designed against an opposing view of salvation, it is not against the Judaizing view.

There remains the supposition that the references to oppositions are to the teachings of some party or group within the Church who are distinct from the Judaizers. It is not yet clear from these Epistles whether they are converts from heathenism or Judaism. The references to them are moreover not direct. We must reconstruct their position from allusions and from significant renewed emphasis on Apostolic teaching which is minimized, perverted or rejected. Some clues to the character of the opposition may first be sought in the designedly vague personal allusions.

Writing from Corinth he asks the prayers of the readers for his deliverance from 'the definite body or class,' Findlay *in loc.*, 'of absurd, or eccentric or perverse and wicked men': *τῶν ἀτόπων καὶ πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων*, II Thess. 3, 2. Ellicott admits: 'who these men were is somewhat doubtful.' They are, however, not the heathen, since nothing is known of opposition to the Gospel or of danger to the Apostle from the Corinthians, cp. Acts 18, 10. Nor are they, as in the usual view, unbelieving Jews; else he could be expected to name them as such, as he does when speaking of their persecution of the Thessalonians I, 2, 14, and of the persecution by them which he anticipates in Jerusalem: 'those who are disobedient in Judea,' Rom. 15, 31. He would not moreover describe as 'absurd and irrational,' the Jews to whom he presented in the synagogues his elaborated arguments from Old Testament prophecy, and to whose objections against Christianity he offered with most solemn protestations of devotion to his nation, his profoundest teachings in Rom. 9–11. Neither could his opponents in Corinth be Judaizing Christians, for the same reasons: he could not have called either their attack a Jewish attack, which was clear-sighted and based on deep conviction, as being against all reason. Further, his added remark 'faith does not pertain to all men,' could not refer to pagans or Jews, since it would be pointless to

assure his readers that these classes had not accepted the Christian faith. Nor could the threefold description of the opponents apply to Judaizing Christians. They could indeed be called by Paul as in Gal. 2, 4, false brethren; yet with definite reference to their denial of the freedom which we have in Christ, and not to denial of the faith professed by the Church of Jerusalem, of which they were members. Even they, however, are not treated in Galatians and Romans as ἄτοποι, and are not characterized as πονηροί, immoral men.

We conclude, therefore, that the reference may most naturally point to a group of men within the Church whose claim to be believers Paul repudiates, and whose immoral behavior based on principles contrary to all reason, is hindering the progress and success of the Gospel. These, it may also be noticed, are prominent features in the later description of the false teachers in the Pastorals. There, the men who within the Church withstand the truth are reprobate concerning the faith; are corrupted in mind and without understanding; evil men, πονηροί and impostors, γόητες; and as such are contrasted with those that would live godly in Christ Jesus, II Tim. 3, 8–13.

Whatever may have been the relation of the Corinthian opponents to these later errorists, Paul's request for his readers' prayers for his deliverance from them, assumes their understanding of his reference. We next inquire whether the Thessalonians themselves have acquaintance with, and experience of such a class. In answer we find in the first half of the second chapter of the First Epistle, Paul's reiterated denials concerning the character of his own preaching to the readers. It is almost constantly understood to be a repudiation of charges made against him by the Jews in Thessalonica or by the heathen at their prompting. But we must observe that this is not the characteristic and constant form of Jewish attack. They did not concern themselves with the innuendoes in this chapter in regard to Paul's apostolic authority, theological conceptions, rhetorical methods, pastoral relations, personal purity, petty mercenary aims. Theirs, in Judea, Thessalonica and always was open war upon him to the death as an apostate attempting to destroy the faith and customs of Israel; and this, under domination of their special hatred of his Gospel to the Gentiles. And the same direct methods of attack

were used by Judaizing Christians. The charges in this chapter are most intelligible when viewed not as the occasion of apology but as Paul's polemic against false teachers who have intruded into the Church of Thessalonica, whose preaching and methods he denounces in contrasting them with his own. Their exhortation issues from error and impurity and is by means of guile. They are flatterers and fawners, seeking glory from men; and through covetousness they demand financial support from their hearers. These are precisely the methods and motives ascribed to the gnosticizing false teachers in the later Epistles. So similar, indeed, is the description of the opponents, as we have understood the section, to that of those in Corinth, that Baur, *Paul*, II, 86, and III Appendix 315 ff., uses as an argument against the genuineness of I Thess. the claim that 2, 4 ff. 'is a brief recapitulation of the principles enunciated in the Corinthian Epistles'; and p. 317, is 'an echo of the last two chapters of II Cor.' [5]

Who these errorists were may be known more definitely from the special topics, interests and emphases in the two Epistles. The outstanding topic and interest is eschatology. Every section of the First Epistle reaches its climax in a reference to the Second Advent. Other doctrines, redemptive facts and ethical exhortations are expressed in their relation to the Last Things. One complete section, 4, 13 ff., is a brief apocalypse concerning the state of the Christian dead and their share in the Parousia; and it is followed by a section of restatement concerning the times and seasons of Christ's coming. The first two of the three chapters of II Thess. are exclusively eschatological. This unusual proportion of emphasis is not due, as has often been asserted, to an early interest of the Apostle in matters eschatological, which he outgrew in later years; for the same general conceptions are interwoven in his later Epistles. Neither can the prominence of the subject be due to the readers' ignorance. He states that he has no need to write of the times and seasons; that they know accurately that the Day of the Lord comes as a thief in the night. He can appeal to their knowledge of his original teaching concerning that Day, and in detail, concerning the Apostasy, the

[5] This and the recent views of the Thessalonian opponents are discussed by Lütgert, whose own view has here been followed, in *Die Vollkommenen im Philipperbrief u. die Enthusiasten in Thessalonich*, p. 55 ff.

Man of Sin and his Restrainer. Nor does the constant tone of confident reference to the subject, suggest any tendency of the readers to deny it.

We are thus at a loss for an explanation of his emphasis on the Last Things, until we learn in the Second Epistle, 2, 2 ff., that under the pretext of Paul's teaching or of its issues, his opponents are asserting that the Day of the Lord is 'already present,' *ἐνέστηκεν*,[6] not merely 'at hand' or 'just at hand.' It is the same position as held by some in Corinth who say there is no resurrection of the dead; and later by those in Ephesus who say the resurrection has taken place already, *ἤδη γεγονέναι*, II Tim. 2, 18. For such, the only meaning of resurrection was the spiritual resurrection in baptism. At their own baptism they must have made a profession of faith in Christ's resurrection, I Cor. 15, 1–8; but in Thessalonica as in Corinth, their assertion that the Day of the Lord was already present involved a denial of the Second Coming of Christ and the gathering together unto him of living saints and dead at the general resurrection, II Thess. 2, 1; I Thess. 4, 13–18. That this denial of the resurrection in a glorified body rests as in I Cor. 15, 35, on a gnostic dualism of spirit and inherently evil created matter, may possibly be already indicated in the unusual concluding prayer, I Thess. 5, 23, that their spirit and soul and body may be preserved entire at the coming of Christ; for the relation of the body with soul and spirit at the Parousia, is the subject developed in I Cor. 15, 35 ff., in reply to the deniers of the resurrection in vs. 12 and to their challenge, vs. 35, concerning a resurrection body.

Another brief statement suggests that the false teaching is based positively on the claim of spiritual gifts of prophecy, which in I Cor. includes the gifts of wisdom, gnosis and revelation.

[6] See Zahn, *Introd.*, § 37 n. 17, for the view in Acta Theclæ, 14, that 'the resurrection has already taken place' means 'in the children we have,' and also for the views by later gnostics of the resurrection as spiritual by means of epignosis of God or of the truth, in conversion and baptism; and for its relation to 'resurrection of the flesh,' his *Apostles' Creed*, p. 204. Cp. also Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma*, p. 261, n. 1. The suggestion that Ox. Pap. 1187, line 17, *τοῦ χρόνου ἐνστάντος* as referring to the approaching year may support the translation of *ἐνέστηκεν* by 'is imminent,' conflicts with the fact that while the aor. ptcp. can refer to the future, the perfect tense expresses a present result of a past action; as too in *Ox. Pap.*, 275, line, 10, *τῆς ἐνεστώσης ἡμέρας* means 'this day.'

The Thessalonians are enjoined, I Thess. 5, 19 ff., not to quench the Spirit and not to despise prophesyings. It is a singular command to be addressed to primitive Christians. To them prophecy was one of the highest gifts of the Spirit; a distinguishing mark of Christianity; and one of the strongest attractions in winning converts. The passage, therefore, indicates that the readers are disposed, in repudiating the intruding false teachings of those boasting of their prophetic gift, to hold a decreasing estimate of this gift. The Apostle's corrective is 'to prove and test all things and to hold fast that which is good.' Similarly in connection with the abuse of spiritual gifts, I Cor. 12–14, he gives the rule: desire earnestly spiritual gifts, but rather that ye may prophesy. Yet when prophets speak, the others are to discriminate, as in Rom. 12, 6, whether they prophesy according to the proportion of the faith.

It will appear in later Epistles that the boast of freedom based on the gift of the Spirit, coupled with gnostic indifference to the material body and its functions, and with the rejection of the eschatological hope as the inspiration and invigoration of Christian morality, issued in an antinomian license. Such an influence may be recognized as already operative in Thessalonica, in view of the special ethical interests in the hortatory section of the First Epistle, 4, 1 ff. After recalling in the opening verses the body of moral instruction they had received and which they were observing, he proceeds to select a few definite topics for reiteration. We submit that a satisfactory reason for this selection is offered in the view that these are topics concerning which the opponents are insinuating false principles which lead to unchristian practice. The first of the three topics is a renewed warning against impurity and disparagement of marriage. The occasion of this re-emphasized admonition cannot be the readers' proneness to continue in the sins of their previous heathen life and present environment. He praises their Christian life and moral walk without qualification, 4, 1; 1, 1–10; 3, 6 ff. It is, therefore, best accounted for as directed against the practical outcome of an antinomian teaching of his subtly intruding opponents. At the close in vs. 8, their claim of freedom from moral law by reason of their gift of the Spirit, is met by his counterthrust that rejection of the law of purity in vss. 3–6 is rejection not of a man but of God, who also gives his

Holy Spirit to be within us to enable us to realize the holiness of life of vs. 7, cp. I Cor. 6, 19; Rom. 8, 4. In insisting next in vss. 9 and 10 on brotherly love, with the acknowledgment that they already exercise it towards all the brethren in all Macedonia, he can reasonably be understood as warning them against an intruding divisive and exclusive spirit, which is characteristic of gnostic activity in all the later references. The remaining renewal of the primitive moral instruction in vss. 11 and 12 shows that the claim of freedom from moral law led naturally to contempt for all forms of external authority, including the State. Hence the need of his counteracting admonition directed against teaching conflicting with quietness and with seemly behavior towards those outside the Church.

Passing at this point from the topic of their faith in the gospel, chaps. 1–3, and from that of their moral work of love, 4, 1 ff., to their Christian hope, he next, 4, 13 ff., removes anxiety concerning the dead in Christ by his assurance of their share in the Parousia. That the aim in this section is to refute consequences of a denial of a general resurrection, appears both from the close parallel in I Cor. 15, 18–20, and also from his reassertion in the succeeding section, 5, 1–11, of the Apostolic teaching concerning the Day of the Lord to men who know it accurately and to whom he has 'no need to write.' But as in Rom. 15, 14 f., he 'puts them again in remembrance' so as to guard them against those who like lying prophets in the Old Testament reject warnings in regard to that Day, 'saying peace and safety'; and to exhort them with the inspiration of the hope of glory to a life of Christian duty, which is imperilled by the principles of the deniers of the resurrection as in I Cor. 15, 34.

In thus denying a general resurrection and the obligation of Christian morality on the ground of their emancipating spiritual gift of gnosis, the errorists would be also inevitably led to deny the authority of the Church's original teaching, and equally the authority of its ministry of teaching, worship and discipline. Hence in the concluding section concerning Church fellowship, 5, 12 ff., we recognize in the unusually definite exhortation to a recognition of the clergy and to esteem them exceedingly highly in love, a reference to some influence tending to the disparagement of the official ministry. This can be most readily accounted for

as coming from intruders boasting of their own completer ministry and charismatic gift of prophecy. In vss. 19–22 as in I Cor. 12–14 and Rom. 12, 6, this prophetic ministry is fully recognized. Yet false prophecy is guarded against by the criterion of vs. 21 and parallels: to test all things; to hold fast to the good, to abstain from every form of evil. It is illustrated by the later rule in I John 4, 1 ff.: Believe not every spirit, but prove the spirits, whether they are of God . . . he that is not of God heareth us not. A general application of this rule which closes our section, vss. 12–22, is already directed in the first injunction to the clergy in vs. 14 to 'admonish the disorderly,' ἄτακτοι; and the last third of the Second Epistle contains Paul's own special charge in reference to them. They seem thus to be a distinct class. We shall attempt a construction of their characteristics and relations to other interests of the two Epistles, which may serve further to indicate and to unify the several features of the opposing teaching.

The term ἄτακτοι, which is found in these Epistles only, connotes far more than men of unbecoming behavior, as implied by 'disorderly' of our English versions. As it occurs in the section concerning Church fellowship exhorting to recognition of the local ministry and to their exercise of the duty of admonishing the ἄτακτοι, the general idea of their 'insubordination' is implied. This is supported by Paul's reference to the class in II Thess. 3, 14: if any obey not our word by this Epistle. The harm is evidently related to the familiar Pauline expressions concerning τάξις, order. This τάξις in the Church, I Cor. 14, 40; Col. 2, 5, is on the one hand based on the ordinance, διατάσσεσθαι, of the Apostle in all his churches, I Cor. 7, 17; 11, 34; and rests ultimately on the ἐπιταγή of the Lord, cp. also I Cor. 14, 37; and on the other hand it is exhibited in the correlative submission, ὑποτάσσεσθαι and obedience, ὑπακοή, of his converts. The fundamental obedience is to God as is seen in the use of ἀπειθεῖν in Rom. 11, 30, etc.; in contrast to previous failure to be subject to His law and righteousness. From other viewpoints it is an obedience to Christ, II Cor. 10, 6; of faith; to the gospel; to the form of διδαχή delivered; and then, I Cor. 16, 15–17, the submission to those who have set themselves to minister to the saints, and to every one that helpeth in the work and laboreth; and the obedience to Paul, Philippians 2, 12; II Cor. 2, 9; Philemon 9.21; or to Titus, II Cor. 7, 15. We therefore consider that ἄτακτοι

like the equivalent term ἀνυπότακτοι in Tit. 1, 10, refers to insubordination and rejection of the Church order, its Apostolic tradition of faith, morals and hope, its ministry and discipline; and further that this is the unifying term for the introducers and adherents of the false teachings which are the occasion of the Epistles to Thessalonica.

In both, the references to them are made in close connection with the renewed assertions of the Parousia. Their first mention immediately follows the eschatological section, I Thess 4, 13–5, 11. In II Thess. the charge against them alone, 3, 6–16, is only separated from his still more definite teaching concerning the Day of the Lord, by his prayer for deliverance from the related ἄτοποι καὶ πονηροί of Corinth. Besides this association with denials of the Advent, these insubordinate men, II Thess 3, 6, walk not according to the tradition of moral teaching. His reference would naturally be to the special topics from it which he had re-emphasized in the earlier Epistle: impurity, divisive spirit and disregard, probably in some form of spiritual excitement, of external authority and customs. He had also then repeated from the primitive Didache the rule of self-support. This he renews in II Thess 3, 7–12, against the insubordinate of vs. 6, pointing out his own submission to the tradition: οὐκ ἠτακτήσαμεν ἐν ὑμῖν, although he had authority to be supported, as being an Apostle of Christ. The reference to this right of apostle, prophet and evangelist, as were the writers, to support, cp. also I Thess 2, 7–9, is an intimation that the insubordinate claimed a similar authority on the basis of their spiritual gifts, and exercised it in a demand for support by the Church; as we know this was claimed by the false apostles in II Cor. 11 and 12. Along, moreover, with their rejection of the command to work, they became περιεργαζόμενοι: not mere idlers and gossipers, but in contrast to πράσσειν τὰ ἴδια, I Thess. 4, 11, they are meddlers, intruders, upsetters of households. The term reminds us of the later errorists who in II Tim. 3, 6, creep into houses and take captive silly women, who in turn, 1 Tim. 5, 13, learn to be idle, going about from house to house; περίεργοι, speaking τὰ μὴ δέοντα: things improper or forbidden. Men with such principles, spirit and practices were not likely to recognize lovingly the local clergy; nor in their insubordination to listen to pastoral admonition. Hence the Apostles' discipline of them:

withdraw yourselves from every brother walking ἀτάκτως; his own apostolic charge and solemn exhortation to 'such, that working with quietness they eat their own bread'; and if any refuse obedience to this apostolic command, the Church is to 'note' him and not associate with him, though not regarding him as an enemy, but admonishing him as a brother.

The length and solemnity of this apostolic charge to the local Church, shows of itself that it is not directed merely against idleness which any Church praised by Paul, or which any civic community was perfectly competent to discipline and suppress. The claim for Church support correlates itself therefore with the other traits; and in its connection with them enables us to recognize in the insubordinate the wily intruders with whom Paul contrasts himself in I Thess. 2, and the adherents of their subtle and masked propaganda which in II Thess. 2, 2, is already using, like the later gnostics, the artifice of forged apostolic documents. That the several traits we have combined could be thus united in the errorists at Thessalonica is directly illustrated, Tit. 1, 9–16, in the delineation of gnosticizing teachers. Their first and controlling feature is that they are ἀνυπότακτοι, parallel to the ἄτακτοι as regards Church fellowship. As to doctrine they utter senseless things and are deceived in their minds, which recalls the earlier ἄτοποι. Their teachings are insinuated by the method of the περιεργαζόμενοι: they overturn whole households; and like them they claim financial support for their immoral teachings. As we saw in I Thess. 4, 8, a probable allusion to a claim of emancipating gnosis in the possession of the Spirit, so here the errorists 'profess to know God, but deny him in their works,' as in the passage in I Thess. they reject God. And as in II Thess. 3, 2, faith does not pertain to the ἄτοποι καὶ πονηροί, so are the errorists here ἄπιστοι and unto every good work reprobate. And here too it is the duty of the clergy to confute them and close their mouths, as in Thessalonica the clergy were to test, to admonish, to withdraw from, to note and to have no association with the intruding insubordinate errorists.

This construction, in which the view of Lütgert is adopted, is, however, in direct opposition to the exegetical tradition maintained in all the recent commentaries and works on the Apostolic Age. In these, the insubordinate are a group, often viewed as repre-

senting a general tendency of the Church, which was morbidly excited by expectation of the imminence of the Advent and thereby was led to neglect of their earthly occupations. The consequent need and the claim to support, and their failure to receive it, led next to a spirit of insubordination and to general disorder, which is paralleled in historical instances of similar fanaticism caused by expectations of an immediate Advent. This current conception rests upon the assumptions that the report, 'the Day of the Lord is present' refers to an announcement of its immediate coming; that this announcement would lead to fanatical excitement; and that this would express itself in idleness and in the disorders naturally resulting from it.

We have already stated, as against the initial assumption, that the Thessalonians' troubles were occasioned not by rumors concerning an impending Parousia and the Last Things connected with it, but by a denial based on ultra-spiritualizing of the primitive eschatology, that such a Parousia would ever occur. Against this denial in Corinth and Ephesus, II Tim. 2, 18, we have Paul's reassertion of the Advent hope not only in I Cor. 15, but throughout the Thessalonian Epistles, and most definitely indeed in the chapters immediately preceding and following the report that the Day of the Lord is already present, without its eschatological accompaniments. But even on the contrary assumption, it is by no means evident that the announcement of an immediate Advent would lead to fanatical excitement of the disciples. Findlay, *Thess.*, p. xliv, grants that a disposition to run into morbid excitement, presumably on the subject of Christ's Advent, p. xxxviii, and into an unpractical enthusiasm, is not found in any other of the communities addressed in the Pauline Epistles. This admission of itself weakens the probability of such a disposition in Thessalonica; especially as he utters no word, as we shall see, to correct it there. The reference to his own self-support is not urged against the insubordinate, as we should expect on the assumption of Parousia excitement, as an example of industry even amid eager expectation of the Advent, but as showing his purpose not to burden the Church. And more generally, there was no reason why the most vivid Advent hopes should anywhere lead to idleness, in view of the familiar Gospel teaching that men who wait for their Lord should 'let their loins be girded about and

their lights burning'; that, as in the parable group, Mtw. 25, following the discourse on the Last Things, they are as in the Talents to work, and as in the Judgment scene they are to minister to others while, as in the Ten Virgins, they are watching for and witnessing to their Lord's return.

Further the assumption of Advent excitement finds no support in the passage on which it is definitely based: the call 'not to be shaken from your mind nor yet be troubled.' This is constantly viewed as addressed to the insubordinate or in general to the Church as agitated like them by the coming of the Day. But on the contrary it is a call to the Church based on the immediately preceding chapter of hopes and prayers for the Day, and on the directly following argument against the report that it is already come without the fulfillment of the hope of glory connected with it in chapter 1, and without the realization, chapter 2, of the assurances in the primitive eschatology, vss. 5.6, of the final victorious conflict with evil in its complete revelation, and of its destruction by the manifestation of Christ's Parousia, or in Bengel's phrase by 'the first dawn of theAdvent.' Σαλεύω and θροέω, which are probably terms familiar in apocalyptic teachings and adopted here in applications defined by a qualifiying phrase and the context, do not, therefore, refer to excited fears lest the Advent will suddenly take place, but to the mental unsettlement and to the disheartening discouragement of the faithful, lest it will not take place at all. Paul's definite reference in the two words is clearly seen in the structure of the sentence: 'in the interest of the Parousia' they are not to be unsettled from their understanding of this fundamental Christian hope; and 'in the interest of our gathering together into the Lord,' they are not to be troubled and disheartened, as they must be if the Day is come without a fulfillment of their Advent hopes. The direct supporting parallels are the exhortations, I Thess. 4, 13–18, not to sorrow, in view of the reassurance of the Parousia and of our gathering together with Christ returning in glory; in I Cor. parallel to μὴ σαλεύω, is the call ἑδραῖοι γίνεσθε, ἀμετακίνητοι, which is occasioned by the same denial of resurrection, vs. 12; and parallel to θροεῖσθαι is vs. 19 'we are of all men most miserable' if our hope in Christ is in this life only and does not include hope concerning those fallen asleep in Christ. This initial indication of

reference of the unsettlement and trouble to threatened loss of the hope of Parousia and of our final gathering together unto the Lord, is confirmed also by the conclusion of the passage. Because of Paul's reiteration of the primitive teaching, they are in 2, 15 ff., in contrast to σαλεύειν to stand and hold fast the traditions which had been taught by him; while in contrast to θροεῖσθαι, God the giver of eternal consolation and good hope in grace will establish them in every good word and work.

It is claimed, however, that the two assumptions of a report of the imminence of the Advent, and of resulting fanatical excitement, are supported by the description of the ἄτακτοι as idlers. This is forcibly argued by Frame both in his commentary and in his essay.[7] He holds that in accord with the usage in papyri, the word signifies idlers, or with Rutherford, loafers; that the specific apostolic tradition they fail to observe is the command to work; that from their idleness issue all the other faults ascribed to them; and that the cause of it is excitement due to the report that the Day is present. Since there would have been no occasion for agitations if the Day had actually been present with none of the predicted accompanying portents, Dobschütz and others regard 'is present' as a future which is almost present. Findlay, Frame and Zahn practically make the same charge by paraphrasing: 'the period indicated by ἡμέρα has dawned and the Lord is expected from heaven at any moment.' But such modification is not warranted by the text; and it is against the constant New Testament warnings, as I Thess. 5, 2.3., that the Day will break in unexpectedly as a thief in the night. Besides, throughout the Apostolic Age, the conviction that the Lord may appear at any hour, that the Day is at hand, led to no fanatical excitement or idleness; but was appealed to, as in I Thess. 5, 6 ff., Rom. 13, 11 ff. as an incentive to soberness and diligence in the Christian moral walk. That the ἄτακτοι were idlers is true: but not by reason of paralysis of their energies by adventist agitations. For as Frame clearly shows, the charge of being περιεργαζόμενοι points to their meddlesome activities and interference in the conduct of church affairs. The idleness was only abstention from any work needed for their self-support; and we have already considered

[7] *I. C. Commentary on Thessalonians*, p. 197; *Essays in Modern Theology*, in honor of Dr. Briggs, pp. 191 ff.

this as based on their claim of freedom from the duty of such self-support on the ground that they themselves were apostles, prophets or evangelists who have authority to live of the Gospel. In particular it is not necessary to consider that they are called ἄτακτοι simply because they were idlers; but rather because this refusal to work with their own hands was one outstanding and significant mark of their insubordination. In the history of the usage of the term as summarized by Frame, the root idea of opposition to authority, rule, norm, is maintained; whether it results in a soldier's neglect to observe discipline and commands, in the citizens' disorderly contempt of established order and moral customs, or in the apprentice's disobedience of his master's directions. From the very interesting papyrus of an apprentice's indenture in A. D. 66, *Oxyr. Pap.*, II, 275, Frame and Milligan quote in support of the contemporary meaning of ἀτακτέω as simply idleness, the proviso in line 25 that the boy is to be docked for the number of days on which ἀτακτήσῃ, which Grenfell and Hunt render 'plays truant': Milligan 'fails to attend'; Frame, 'idles.' It is obvious that the boy's idleness would be a ground for debiting his account; but even then his idleness could be conceived as the outcome of his ἀταξία: his refusal to submit to the employer and his rules. And this view of it is in fact supported in the document itself, whose first stipulation, lines 10 f., concerning the work of the boy, describes him as διακονοῦντα καὶ ποιοῦντα πάντα τὰ ἐπιτασσόμενα αὐτῷ. Here 'all the directions' is a more inclusive reference than avoidance of idleness, and indicates also that idleness is viewed as but one of many conceivable forms of insubordination to the master's authority. In another papyrus, *Ox. Pop.*, 725, we have moreover a definite distinction of ἀτακτέω from idleness in the use of the series, line 40, ἀργέω, ἀσθενέω, ἀτακτέω: the apprentice is to make up the time he last lost on account of ' idleness ill-health, disobedience or far any other reason.' [8]

In the charge against the ἄτακτοι, as Professor Frame has convincingly shown, Paul signalizes their refusal to work. This, in our view, is because the refusal coupled with demand for support

[8] In this contract also the distinct reference of ἀτακτέω is explained in the preceding stipulation of lines 10 ff., that the boy is to 'perform all the orders that may be given him by the said teacher,' and by the later stipulation of his return to 'perform all his duties as aforesaid.'

is both the concrete expression of their repudiation of the admonition and authority of the local ministry, I Thess. 5, 14, and of the authority of the primitive moral didache 4, 1 ff. and II Thess. 3, 6, which includes the rule of labor; and is also the direct expression of their claim of spiritual authority as teachers, upon which their masked doctrinal propaganda is based. We hold therfore that ἄτακτοι describes their general position, and that Paul makes in II Thess. 5, 11, a specific reference to its significant outcome in idleness in the appended participle clauses, not of opposition but of 'more exact specification': 'working not at all'; which is further specified as an idleness that is an activity of meddlesomeness and interference. We submit, therefore, as before that these forms of their disturbance of the peace of the Church in Thessalonica are fully accounted for as the direct outcome of their refusal of submission to the authority of the Church's tradition of faith, morals and hope, and to the discipline of its ministry; and that this refusal was based on their boasts of superior emancipating spiritual gifts, united with a demand for recognition of their own spiritual authority.

The Apostle's reserve in his references to them and in his method of repelling their propaganda indicates that he has not yet sufficiently complete and definite information; and this because of their insidious and secret mode of disseminating their views. There is as yet no reference to the relation of gnosis to redemption; not any certain allusions to the denial of the Church's christology: that Jesus is Lord and Christ. It is possible, however, that he may suspect the trend of their teaching to deny these titles to the human Jesus, in view of his own use of them in these Epistles.[9]

A general objection to the construction of this opposition in Thessalonica which we have presented, is that it involves recognition of a movement with several characteristics of second-century gnosticism as appearing in the middle of the first century; and that it presents the problem of the possibility of such a perversion of Christian principles occurring within twenty years after the

[9] He names the Christ 48 times; yet even in these early Letters, only 3 times as Jesus, in two passages, in one of which the name being in apposition with the title, Son of God; while 38 times as Lord or Lord combined with Jesus or Christ; 4 times as Christ and twice as Christ Jesus.

Ascension and at the outset of Paul's mission in Europe. We can more satisfactorily consider this general problem after an inspection of the data of the later Epistles. We proceed, therefore, to inquire what support for the above construction and for the possibility of the emergence of a gnosticizing movement within the Church at so early a date, is given in the next group of Epistles, all of which like I and II Thess. were connected with Corinth, and written only five or six years later.

2. I AND II CORINTHIANS AND ROMANS

THE EPISTLES TO CORINTH

The Epistles to Corinth are concerned principally with apology and polemic. The errors against which these are directed may be recognized in the converging results of an examination of the main topics selected for discussion, of the descriptions of the teachers and leaders of the opposing movement; and of the doctrinal interests and contents of the two Letters. The results will serve both to test the indications of the character of the earlier stage of opposition in Thessalonica, and also of the opposing movement both in the later Pauline and other New Testament Epistles.

Surveying briefly the main topics, we find as in Thessalonica a most direct interest in reaffirming the primitive eschatological teaching concerning Christ's Parousia and the general resurrection in opposition to its denial by some in Corinth. In intimate relation to this denial, we meet with detailed and applied discussion of the possession of the Spirit and its manifestations in spiritual gifts. Especially prominent is reference to the claim of individual freedom by possession of the Spirit, from the authority of the Church's ministry and definitely from that of Paul; of the ethical precepts and general customs in worship. Further, there are found constant protests against the divisive effect of such claims and boasts, upon Church unity and brotherhood. And, most important, we mark the unmasking of these boasted spiritual gifts as displacing redemption by means of Christ's death; and eventually as displacing the Apostolic tradition of the incarnation and divine Sonship of Jesus, by some theory of dividing Jesus from the divine Christ.

We at once recognize that such teachings as these are utterly

opposed not only to the teachings of Paul and his fellow-worker Apollos, but equally to those of Peter; and most definitely to Judaistic teaching. Turning therefore to the references to the opposing teachers in Corinth, there remains the possibility that these controverted positions are those advocated by the last of the four groups named by Paul at the outset: those who I Cor. 1, 12 say 'I am of Christ.'[10] In considering such a possibility we are immediately confronted with a denial not only of its existence but of Paul's reference to it. Thus Röbiger in disregard first of all, of the grammatical structure, insisted that 'I am of Christ' was the common profession of the three factions, based on their relations to the three leaders: 'I as of Paul, Cephas or Apollos, am of Christ.' More frequently, following Eichhorn, the words are regarded as expressing the attitude of neutrals who refuse to be inscribed with any party badge, and are content to be known only as disciples of Christ. Developing this view Pott, as cited by Baur, argues from I Cor. 3, 22, that the positions and doctrines of those of Christ are approved by the Apostle himself; while Mayerhoff, Bleek and Pfleiderer advance to the conclusion that 'I am of Christ' was also Paul's own profession.[11] But these theories fail to recognize that the claim of those of Christ is condemned equally with the party cries of the other three factions; and in II Cor. 10, 7, Paul's assertion that we too are of Christ, is made against his opponents whom he condemns in chaps. 10–13, and whose boast is to be 'of Christ.'

A summary elimination of such a party is made by rejecting the

[10] Special literature on the Christ Party, apart from commentaries and introductions, is listed in W. Lütgert's *Freiheitspredigt u. Schwarmgeister in Korinth*, p. 41; and also in Ignaz Rohr, *Paulus u. d. Gemeinde v. Korinth*, 1899, pp. 103 ff., where he also presents and discusses a sixfold division of the various theories concerning the parties. A survey of them is given by W. Mangold in his edition of Bleek's *Einleitung*, 1875, pp. 462–465.

[11] All these views in combination form a part of McGiffert's arguments, *Apostolic Age*, p. 295 f., against the existence of a Christ party. Rohr too combines these views, but as representing the earlier attitude of those who being grieved at the partisan movements, avowed themselves to be simply of Christ; yet eventually through a feeling of superiority to parties and their defects, they became themselves a party, *op. cit.*, p. 153 f. Lightfoot, *Galatians*, 1869, p. 354, in opposing the denial of the existence of a Christ party, remarks that 'there is in fact more evidence for the existence of a party of Christ than there is of a party of Peter.'

words from the text of I Cor. 1, 12. This is done by Heinrici in the Meyer commentary; by J. Weiss in his commentary and in his *Urchristenthum*, p. 257 f., who asserts that it is a gloss by some reader recalling perhaps II Cor. 10, 7; and the text is also among those which Moffatt considers it to be a legitimate hypothesis to regard as interpolations.[12] A principal argument for rejecting the text is that those of Christ are not further mentioned or referred to in I Cor. But a definite opposing movement distinct from Judaistic attack, as already stated, appears in both Epistles; it is referred to in II Cor. 10, 7 under the description of 'to be of Christ,' and would therefore be appropriately mentioned under the same title in the list of factions in I Cor. 1, 12. The argument that it is not mentioned by name in the summary I Cor. 3, 22, overlooks the reference in the context, vss. 18–20, to boasts of the party to possession of a gift of wisdom, which Paul declares is folly, deception, empty and in craftiness; and in the next verses, in place of recognizing their right to the title 'to be of Christ,' he inserts a reference to a series of antitheses parallel to the series in Rom. 8, 38 ff.; Col. 1, 16; Ephes. 1, 21, which suggest topics of gnostic teaching of the party.

The earlier method of eliminating a Christ party with distinctive character and policy was to identify it with one of the other factions. Baur led the way in his article on the Christ Party, 1831, and in Paul I, 269 ff. Following a clue of J. E. C. Schmidt, he maintained that as the followers of Paul and Apollos formed a group, so the Christ party was a group of Judaizing Christians identical with the Cephas party: calling themselves those of Cephas, because Peter held the primacy among the Jewish Apostles; and also called themselves those of Christ, because they relied on direct connection with Christ as the chief token of genuine apostolic authority. This identification of the two factions was soon abandoned in the Tübingen School. Hilgenfeld found the distinction between them in the fact that in the one case the adherents were Peter's converts or followers; and in the other, they were followers of Judaizers most bitterly opposed to Paul, and who called themselves 'those of Christ' because they had been personal

[12] Zahn offers explanation of the omission of reference to the words by Clement of Rome, ch. 47, occasionally by Origen, and by Adamantius, in a brief discussion, *Introduction*, § 18, note 9.

disciples of Jesus. Holsten, *Ev. d. Paulus*, 218 ff., adds that they may have been apostles of Christ in the more general sense, as having been of the number of the Seventy disciples or of the five hundred to whom the risen Christ appeared. In later criticism the view that the Christ party was Judaistic has been very generally maintained; and usually they are regarded in contrast to the milder Jewish Christians under Peter's influence as ultra-Judaists, radically opposed to Paul; at times as emissaries of a Judaistic reaction beginning with the conflict of 'certain from James' with Paul at Antioch; or even as being interested only in 'a fleshly legal Jewish messiah,' in opposition to Paul's doctrine of a spiritual heavenly Christ, based on his visions and revelations.

Zahn too insists that the principal opposition was that of Judaizers, who are 'those of Cephas.' In his construction of the Christ party the claim 'I am of Christ' is the sharpest expression of the spirit of independence to which the Church as a whole was inclined; of its deliberate indifference to every human authority; and of its proud ignoring of all historical dependence of its own Christian position. While, therefore, he says, no large section of the two Epistles is definitely devoted to the refutation of those of Christ, yet Paul throughout in his replies to the Church, asserted his opinion of the Christian knowledge and judgment and resulting independence of the boasters. These, however, are not intruders from Palestine or elsewhere; but individuals of the congregation whom he singles out as the most advanced representatives of the Corinthians' claims to independence.

This recognition of an opposition distinct from that of the Judaizers may serve as a transition to the view which finds no polemic by or against the Cephas party, but on the contrary a defense and polemic against the attacks of a Christ party regarded as intruding teachers; Jews, though not personal followers of Jesus; opposed to Apostolic traditions; and in independence of its preachers, attempting to introduce a system of gnostic character. Several features of this view were early advocated in the theories of Schenkel, Kniewel and others, cp. Rohr's list, p. 129, which emerged in the immediate discussion of Baur's essay; and have since found occasional approval, as by De Wette and Mangold. But the fuller construction of the view, with discussion in detail of the data, appears in a series of monographs by W. Lütgert of Halle, appear-

ing since 1908 as listed on p. 211.[13] It rests in the first place on the denial that the opposition in Corinth is Judaistic. As has been stated there is nothing to indicate the Apostle's denunciation in the two Epistles of any of the characteristic features of the Judaizing party, as in Galatians and elsewhere. Equally no trace of any opposition to Paul's Gospel of universalism, Christian liberty, justification by faith or of any feature of his denial of the teaching of Judaizers. On the contrary, to the Corinthian false teachers the Apostle is not free enough, not as spiritual as themselves. And they seem, although they are Jews, not to make an issue concerning circumcision or Sabbath, and to have no interest in the avoidance of heathen associations, or in the observance of the Law, or in the messianic hope. Zahn's assertion is incredible: that Paul's warning, I Cor. 3, 16 f., against destroying the Temple of God is to be referred to a faction claiming the leadership or sympathy of Cephas; much more, the reference to it of his anathema on those who love not the Lord, with the asseveration of the watchword, 'Our Lord comes,' which not even the most radical Judaizer

[13] The tendency in other recent discussion is, while maintaining a Judaistic activity in Corinth, to recognize also the beginnings of a gnostic movement, which, however, is not referred to the Christ party. Pfleiderer, *Urchristm.*, I, 102 ff., regards 'I am of Christ' as Paul's profession; those of Cephas as Judaizers; assigns the Alexandrian gnostic features of opposition to the followers of Apollos; and the false developments of freedom to those of Paul. Bacon in his *Story of St. Paul* and *Introd.*, finds in Corinth a focus of Judaistic activity, not by Jewish believers of the Cephas group but by the Christ party who are self-styled converts of Christ, opposed to Paul's apostolic authority and Gospel. The strong, spiritual, enlightened antinomians and deniers of resurrection are Pauline converts perverting his Gospel of freedom. And he also recognizes that a gnosticism of Hellenistic type is already appearing among the adherents of Apollos, who was himself not tainted with this error. With this, however, Paul will be free to grapple in the next group of letters. For Weinel, *Bib. Theolog. N. T.*, the Christ party are opponents from a more definite Jewish Christian standpoint than that of Cephas. The distinct gnostic features are based on false developments of the Pauline doctrine of freedom by some of his converts from the mystery religions. Lake, *Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, is inclined with Röbiger to eliminate a Christ party; denies also a Judaistic opposition; and while concluding that Paul's opponents were probably the spiritual, holds that there is no evidence to determine whether they are adherents of one of the parties of I Cor. 1, 12. From the tone of I Cor. 1–4 it is not improbable that they were those of Apollos: but if II Cor. 10, 7 refers to a Christ party, it is more probable that it was from it that the hostility to Paul was chiefly developed.

would deny. Nor if Paul's Corinthian enemies are Judaizers, and with the Tübingen critics, from Palestine and Jerusalem, can we understand his intense zeal to secure from his Gentile converts, the collection for the Jerusalem Church.

Baur explains the absence of Judaistic issues in the polemic of the two Epistles as due to the necessity that in this thoroughly Greek Church the Judaizers should appear in a more polished and less strictly Jewish form. They could not expect a favorable reception if they had immediately brought forward their principles. Zeal for the Mosaic law may be essentially their actuating motive; but they fell back on the special ground of their Judaistic opposition: they attacked the apostolic authority of Paul. This has been the standing explanation given by those who assert a Judaistic movement which is characterized by no features of Judaistic teaching: it was subtly conducting a masked attack; conniving temporarily at Gentile freedom while assailing Paul's person, and intending after destroying his influence to impose the Judaistic position upon his converts. Such a strategy, however, would be a reflection upon Jewish intelligence and would be doomed to failure. It would moreover be contrary, as we observe in Galatians, to the constant Judaistic spirit and methods of zealous, open, direct attack along the whole line of the Pauline position.

Having therefore found no reason to eliminate a Christ party or to identify it with an assumed Judaistic movement under any party cry, we further find no occasion to identify it with radical partisans of Apollos or of Paul. The reasons for this will appear as we now proceed to attempt to determine more definitely from the data of the two Epistles, the dominant features of the movement which Paul combats, and which we have already identified as that of those who say 'I am of Christ.'

The intruding errorists are of course professing Christians. As such they have been baptized after the usual instruction and upon profession of belief made in a baptismal formula, I Cor. 15, 3 ff., which would include the statement that Jesus is Christ, Son of God, Lord, who died for our sins and rose again according to the Scriptures. But Paul's emphasis on the redemptive death and resurrection of the Christ as among the essentials, ἐν πρώτοις, of his Gospel instruction, may be in direct contrast to a profession of faith made 'in vain,' in the immediately preceding words, which

may also be an allusion to the false teachers and their adherents. For the most obvious explanation, in the context of vss. 12.17.56 f., of the possibility of such vain profession, would be in a distortion of the doctrine of the Cross and resurrection and evacuation of the Old Testament teaching of a suffering and redeeming Messiah by specious exegesis. We can only conjecture that they made the baptismal profession with their own reservations and understanding of Christ's person and work; and made it thus, because of their attraction to Christianity by such other of its features as its doctrines of revelations, mediation, freedom from legalism and by its gifts of the Spirit. It is evident that as professing disciples they took part in the worship, as in chaps. 12 and 14, and attended the agapæ, although they may have taken a special attitude towards the Holy Communion, I Cor. 11, 17 ff.; 10, 16 ff.

They are next converts from Judaism, II Cor. 11, 22 ff., not Greek converts developing Pauline teaching into philosophical theories. They come to Corinth from an unnamed church with letters commendatory; and therefore claim to be apostles, messengers of some church. In II Cor. 8, 23, the brethren sent with Titus are apostles of the churches, and perhaps significantly as the 'glory of Christ,' in contrast to these false apostles who in 11, 13 fashion themselves into apostles of Christ, like Satan fashioning himself into an angel of light. They boast in 10, 7 f., 'to be of Christ'; and probably because of a claim resting on their alleged possession of his Spirit in full measure, to have immediate revelations of the Lord, 12, 1, and direct authority from him, are taunted as 'the supereminent apostles,' 11, 5; 12, 11, who further in 10, 12–18 commend themselves by their boasts of superior spiritual gifts as listed in the six series of I Cor. 12–14. As regards their work they are not missionaries and evangelists preaching the gospel to the unconverted. They intrude, as in II Cor. 10, 15 ff., into other men's labors and boast in another's province in regard of things ready to their hand. As yet they are not a heretical party and have made no formal schism. In I Cor. 11, 18 ff., the σχίσματα are cliques at the agapæ; and the αἱρέσεις refer to the resulting divisions which serve the needful purpose, δεῖ, of making manifest those who are the approved Christians at Corinth.[14] Their alleged building on

[14] For this view of the passage compare I John 2, 19: 'they went out from us . . . in order that they might be made manifest, φανερωθῶσιν, that

Paul's foundation, I Cor. 3, 11 ff., evokes the warnings of the testing fires of final judgment and of the divine destruction of those who are destroying God's temple; cp. also II Cor. 10, 4. 5. 8; 13, 10. In contrast to the Judaizers who in Gal. 3, 1 ff. professed to perfect the mere beginnings which Paul had made by their other gospel of the need of legalistic obedience after conversion, these intruders profess to build up the Corinthians from the mere beginnings of Paul's Gospel of freedom into maturity of spiritual knowledge and perfection. It is these arrogant pretensions which give rise to his constant impassioned retorts, not only I Cor. 3, 1 ff., as to the immaturity of the Corinthians for the wisdom which he speaks among the perfect, but also as to the work of the intruders, which unlike his own and in contradiction of their boasts, is not upbuilding but destructive. And in II Cor. 10, 3 ff., he addresses himself to the attack upon the alleged upbuilding by his enemies, which will be the casting down of mighty fortresses, imaginations, λογισμοί, and every high thing that is exalted against the knowledge of God, and bringing every thought into captivity to the obedience of Christ.

Their general position is illuminated by further details of their attitude to Paul and his work and by his allusions to them. Involved in their disparagement of his teaching as mere milk for babes and not solid food for the mature, as sarkic not spiritual, as resting on a knowing of Christ only after the flesh, as being indeed a hiding of the gospel and not the whole counsel of God, was their disparagement of his insufficient spiritual gifts and of his Apostolic office. They sneer at his weak bodily presence and hold his speech in contempt; impugn his failure to revisit Corinth as due to consciousness of the weakness of his position, and attribute the postponement of his visit to insincerity and fickleness. His own claim to be an Apostle, they parry with demands for his commendatory letters and for a proof of Christ speaking in him. His self-support is distorted as a confession that he dares not claim support by the church as his apostolic right; and even as a subterfuge to cloak his purpose of appropriating the collection he was urging for the Jerusalem church. They may not discredit the truth of his message, such as it was; but however the debated passage, II Cor. 11, 4, be

not all are of us,' with I Cor. 11, 19: 'there must be αἱρέσεις among you in order that καὶ οἱ δόκιμοι φανεροὶ γένωνται ἐν ὑμῖν.'

interpreted, they deny his authority and credentials, the adequacy and fullness of his gospel, and his right to exercise Apostolic discipline in the Church of Corinth.

The dangers of such an attack were heightened by the character of their own teaching, by which they sought to displace the Gospel and authority of the Apostle. It was given attractively 'in the wisdom of words' and 'in excellency of speech.' Yet it was in truth 'a handling the word of God deceitfully,' II Cor. 4, 2, and a making merchandise of it, 2, 17. For they use it in 11, 12 as an occasion of gain, by demanding support as apostles of Christ. But the dominating motive of Paul's opposition to it was his realization that it would inevitably issue in a complete perversion of his gospel. It is indeed in no small measure owing to his rebuttal of it, that we possess the record of many characteristic features of the Apostle's teaching. The difficulty in presenting a positive construction of their teaching arises from their method of propaganda. For they do not appear to have begun this openly in the public assemblies, but to have insinuated their tenets in special groups. Paul's informants therefore have not yet full knowledge of the formative principles and ultimate issues of the movement. In our view of the reference to them in the Thessalonian Epistles, he had already some acquaintance with the personnel of the errorists; and had begun to discern the nature of their teaching. But in the Corinthian Epistles, with increasing knowledge of their position, he attacks it with increasing definiteness; and at length in Romans we find his still more definite recognition and confutation of their principles, based on the knowledge of it gained in his three months' residence in Corinth itself. The attempt to reconstruct their teaching is besides made further difficult by the fact that the Apostle is combatting men who profess not to be deniers of his own doctrines, but to be presenting them in their fullness and consequences in contrast to his own immature and merely fleshly comprehension of them. Hence in his polemic, he cannot always employ categorical contradictions of their premises; and we are compelled to recognize what were their positions from his exposure of their specious developments and misapplications of his own principles, issuing in immorality and denials of the essential truths of the Gospel. We can nevertheless discern the following controlling outlines of their doctrinal system.

Since the most definite doctrinal discussion of the opposition in Corinth is in regard to the denial of a general resurrection, we may conclude that this is the initial and outspoken tenet of the errorists, and the entering wedge of their propaganda. They held indeed, as did also gnostic sects at the close of the first century, the Apostolic tradition of Jesus' resurrection, I Cor. 15, 4. But in view of vs. 35, they probably held it with reservations similar to those of the Ophitic gnostics in Irenæus, *Adv. Haer.* 1.30. 13 f. who taught that the heavenly Christ raised up both the psychic and spiritual parts of Jesus, but sent the mundane part back again into the world.[15] They could also profess belief in the resurrection of the dead; but again with such reservations as were made by similar heretics in Justin, *Trypho*, c. 80, who say there is no resurrection of the dead, but immediately at their death their souls are taken up into heaven. In this sense the dead are raised to immortal life; but they have no ἀνάστασις, no 'rising again,' cp. Luke 2, 34, in resurrection bodies at the Parousia. This position appears in the twofold question of I Cor. 15, 35. In connection it may be with what was possibly a topic in the primitive catechetical instruction: περὶ τῶν νεκρῶν ὅτι ἐγείρονται, cp. Mark. 12, 26, with the Lukan parallel and the forms of introducing topics and their discussion in Justin's apology, its first question πῶς ἐγείρονται is parried with 'but ποίῳ σώματι ἔρχονται.' The rest of the chapter in rebuttal of this objection is concerned solely with the glorified resurrection body and its coming when the Advent trumpet shall sound. Their denial of this could rest not only on Paul's acknowledgment, vs. 50, that flesh and blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of God, but also on his own teaching as in Rom. 6 of the spiritual resurrection in baptism, with its accompanying gift of the indwelling Spirit. But instead of regarding this gift as but the first fruits, Rom. 8, 23, as only the earnest of our inheritance, II Cor. 1, 22; Ephes. 1, 13 f., and of our being clothed upon with our house from heaven when mortality shall have been swallowed up of life, II Cor. 5, 2 ff.; they boasted that they were already fully spiritual; already enjoying the full blessings of the messianic age; already reigning in the Kingdom apart from Paul and his followers, I Cor.

[15] Misisse desuper virtutem quandam in eum, quæ excitavit eum in corpore quod et corpus animale et spirituale vocant; mundalia enim remisisse eum in mundo. Cp. the related Greek terms in I Cor. 15, 45–47.

4, 8. For them as in II Thess. 2, 2, the Day of the Lord was already come.

This fundamental tenet necessarily affects their whole conception of Christian doctrine and life. It sets aside the primitive eschatology of Christ's Parousia in glory, the general resurrection and world-judgment. Christian morality is thereby deprived of the inspiration of Christian hope for those who in Rom. 2, 7, by patient continuance in well-doing still seek for glory, honor and immortality. It is equally ominous for interest in the ethical teaching of Christ delivered in the Oral Gospel and in the catechetical instruction.

For in the sphere of morals, the boast of full possession of the eschatological blessing of the Spirit led to perversion of the Pauline doctrine of the Spirit. He proclained without reservation that the gift of the Spirit was essentially the life of freedom: where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty. Yet while with Paul, Rom. 8, 2 ff., the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus frees us from the law of sin and death, and as an inner fountain of moral illumination and energy accomplishes the righteousness demanded by the law, that Spirit was to his Corinthian opponents, subjective freedom from all external authority: be it of moral law and customs, of Apostolic tradition or Church discipline. The evidences of this run throughout both Epistles. They are libertines on the principles of antinomianism, cf. I Cor. 6, 9 ff.; 10, 6 ff.; II Cor. 12, 21, because they are not under law but grace. It would very reasonably be the women converts of these errorists who asserted their freedom by self-emancipation from the social customs expressive of due subordination in family life and in public worship. The recurring claims of Apostolic authority, the references to the customs of the churches of God, the denunciations of disorders in the worship and the direct polemics against the spiritual boasts of the errorists, all point to the fact that the false apostles and their adherents repudiated not only Paul's Apostolic position but all official and corporate authority in the Church's ministry of teaching, discipline and worship.

We can thus construct with reasonable clearness the trend of their teaching as it affects Christian hope and Christian love as the fulfilling of all law. But we are not yet so clearly informed, as we are in later Epistles, as to their doctrinal positions concerning

the Christian faith; and especially in regard to their doctrine of God and his relations to the universe, and of the Person and work of Christ. This very probably was at first an esoteric portion of their system, reserved for their initiates. Paul seems only gradually to have learned of it; and would not in any case be disposed to disseminate by direct citations, false teachings not generally advertised. Yet throughout the Epistles to the Thessalonians, Corinthians and Romans we suddenly meet with emphatic statements summarizing his own teachings on these subjects and revealing his increasing realization that the fundamental doctrines of the errorists are in direct opposition to his own.

If their system already contained any features of the second-century gnostic cosmogonies having recourse to a demiurge or to a series of mediating emanations, as the outcome of their theory of evil resting on a dualism of the world of matter and divine spirit, it may have been glanced at and in any event it was guarded against by the statements: the universe is ἐκ θεοῦ, I Cor. 11, 12; II Cor. 5, 18; and fuller in Rom. 11, 36, ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν τὰ πάντα; and most definitely, I Cor. 8, 6, to us there is one God the Father ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰς αὐτόν, and one Lord Jesus Christ δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα καὶ ἡμεῖς δι' αὐτοῦ. Col. 1, 16, written some five years later, is recognized to be directed against a gnostic theory; and it is simply a more explicit statement of creation by, in and unto Christ, already made in the preceding passage in I Cor.

Having adopted the view that they are specially referred to in I Cor. 1–4, we observe that their rejection of the Gospel of redemption by Christ's death is now recognized by the Apostle. The word of the Cross is to them as well as to unbelievers not, as to the Judaizers, to be supplemented by legalism; but I Cor. 1, 18, it is foolishness and weakness. Hence, his renewed emphasis upon it as the heart of his Gospel. He determined upon coming to the Corinthians, not to know anything among them save Jesus Christ and him crucified; since 1, 18 ff. the word of the Cross is the power and wisdom of God, unto salvation, Rom. 1, 16. Christ was made unto us not only wisdom, as the errorists preach, but at the same time righteousness and consecration which we share in our union with him. And all this because 1, 30 he was made unto us redemption. Rejection of the atoning life and death of

the human Jesus, points in connection with the boast of redemption in the possession of the Spirit of the exalted Christ, to the probable source of their false teaching in some perverted view of the relation of the heavenly Christ to the earthly Jesus. This would as well involve questions concerning the preëxistence and incarnation of Christ. Whatever they may have been, they were doubtless highly speculative and, as suggested, reserved for the initiated. Yet a number of christological assertions suddenly appearing in the polemical sections could be occasioned by Paul's growing acquaintance with their concealed teaching.

In his controversy with them concerning the resurrection we have statements significantly emphasizing the relation of our Lord's humanity to redemption. Since by man came death whose sting is sin, by man came also the resurrection of the dead, I Cor. 15, 21. And this man is the Christ of the preceding verse and is the second, last Adam and head of humanity of the following verse and of the Two Adams section, vss. 45 ff. He is the Adam who is both a life-giving Spirit and is the Second Man, from heaven. In the parallel in Rom. 5, 12 ff., as Second Adam he is definitely named as 'the one man Jesus Christ.' So real is his humanity that the Christ though he knew no sin was made to be sin on our behalf, that we might become the righteousness of God in him, II Cor. 5, 21; and so complete is the union that in I Cor. 2, 8, Paul can speak of the crucifixion of the Lord of glory. Specifically is redemptive significance claimed for his human experiences of sufferings and death, and notably in the passages of polemic. In I Cor. 15, 3, it is the Christ who died for our sins and in II Cor. 5, 14, died for all. The death proclaimed in the Eucharist, I Cor. 11, 26, is the death of the Lord. If Paul bears about, II Cor. 4, 10 ff., the dying of Jesus, it is in order that the life also, *i. e.*, of the exalted Jesus may be manifested in his body. Guarding against denials or subtle perversions of the truth of the incarnation, Paul affirms when contrasting his preaching with that of the errorists in II Cor. 4, 1–6, that the Christ Jesus Lord whom he preaches is the εἰκών, 'the perfect image, the visible representation and manifestation of the unseen God.' The use of the same term in Col. 1, 15, is recognized by Lightfoot as directed against heretical teaching in support of the true doctrine of Christ as the eternal Logos. The Corinthians already know the Apostle's

teaching, II Cor. 8, 9, that our Lord Jesus Christ though he was rich 'in the glory of his heavenly state' became poor, 'when he descended into the poverty of his earthly career'; so Meyer and B. Weiss in opposition to Heinrici. God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself, II Cor. 5, 19; and the Christ Jesus preached by Paul, is Son of God, II Cor. 1, 19.

In accordance with these indications of pointed reiterations of the Apostolic teaching of the relation of Jesus to the Christ and of Christ to man and to God, are the probably intentional uses of the human name Jesus in various combinations with statements concerning the exalted Lord [16] Instructive for his choice of titles and for their combinations are his two sudden uses of anathema in connection with them. In I Cor. 12, 3, he introduces the section concerning the abuse of boasted spiritual gifts, with the declaration that no man speaking in the Spirit of God says Anathema Jesus; while the confession Kurios Jesus is a mark of possession of the Spirit. We find the same rule later in I John 4, 2 f., in reference to gnostic errors. The statement therefore points to a concrete denial by some professing Christians at Corinth of Jesus as Lord; and more definitely to their repudiation of his real union as human, with the heavenly Christ and Kurios. Paul at the outset deliberately refuses to discuss any claim of spiritual gifts which is not founded on this initial evidence of possession of the Spirit. No other allusion is justified. 'Anathema Jesus,' as assumed here to be uttered by one claiming to speak in the Spirit of God, cannot be denunciation by a blasphemous heathen or by a Jew; nor can it be the utterance of a Judaizer or of any approved believer. A sufficient clue to the occasion and character of the anathema has already been suggested in I Cor. 1, 13. There, immediately after the claim 'I am of Christ' is the declaration: the Christ has been divided.[17] In such division 'those of Christ' can be conceived,

[16] In the statistics and discussion of Paul's use of the names of Christ in Feine, *Jesus Christ und Paulus*, p. 21 ff., the name 'Jesus' alone appears only seven times in I and II Cor.; all of them in three polemical sections: I Cor. 12, 3 f., II Cor. 4, 5.10, and 11, 4. Six of these uses are accompanied with references to his exalted state; the other use in 11, 4 being connected with a reference to reception of the Spirit.

[17] So Meyer. While μή could be omitted in a question of surprise, the text in fact indicates that the interrogative sentence is intended to begin with the μή introducing the next words. If we are to take seriously Zahn's argument

cp. I John 4, 2, as confessing the heavenly Christ alone as Lord and rejecting the separated Jesus as abandoned by the Christ to his death upon the Cross. The anathema may be an exploitation as in later Docetic systems of the words on the Cross: My God, why hast thou forsaken me.[18]

In some relation to this first anathema passage is the autograph preface to the closing salutation, I Cor. 16, 23: if any man loves not the Lord, let him be anathema. Again it is incredible that he should thus refer to unbelieving Jews, cp. Rom. 10, 1; or to heathen, cp. II Cor. 5, 14.19; or to Judaizers, who could not be described as not loving the Lord, and who themselves use in their worship the watchword Maranatha, 'our Lord comes' or as in Rev. 22, 20, 'Come Lord Jesus,' and who in their Eucharists proclaim the Lord's death till he comes. The anathema would be seen at once to have the force of a direct retort on those who say Anathema Jesus, if the reading of the Textus receptus were retained on the authority of the second corrector of the Sinaitic manuscript, of the manuscripts C, D, etc.; Loves not the Lord Jesus Christ. But with our critical texts, it may still be so understood; since the Lord is 'the Lord Jesus' of the next statement, and is the 'Christ Jesus' which is the Epistle's final word. This closing verse 24, my love be with you all in Christ Jesus, indicates the anathematized 'any man' as distinct from the general body of the Corinthian Church. The anathema could therefore most fittingly fall on those of Christ, who divide Christ; who affirm

that μή is omitted to avoid an imitation of the bleating of a goat in μὴ μεμέρισται, which of course both the contemporary vowel sounds and accent intonation make impossible, we find in Rom. 9, 20, a far better imitation which, however, is not avoided.

[18] The words as reported in the Docetic Gospel of Peter, § 5, are: 'And the Lord cried out saying, My power, my power, thou hast forsaken me. And when he had said this he was taken up.' In *The Gospel according to Peter and the Revelation of Peter*, edited by J. A. Robinson and M. R. James, 1892, Robinson points out, p. 21, the Docetic 'perversion of our Lord's quotation from Ps. 22, 1, in this description of 'the power' so often emphasized in Luke in connection with the person of our Lord, as forsaking him: the divine Christ is taken up, the human Christ remains on the Cross; Eli being rendered as my power. He also adds the references in Irenæus to such claims, the use of the text by Valentinians, and suggests a parallel in the interpolation in cod. Bobbiensis at Mk. 16, 4 as closely corresponding to the ascension of the divine Christ from the Cross.

'Anathema Jesus'; who deny that the Lord comes; who unlike Paul, cp. II Tim. 4, 8, have not loved his appearing; and who in both Epistles are lacking in the Christian grace of love.

Thus opposed to Paul's teaching of Christian hope, Christian love as the perfect fulfillment of the law, and as far as we can judge, opposed to the fundamental Apostolic faith in God in Christ Jesus, they could be expected to be opposed also to the Apostle's ideal of Christian brotherhood and of fellowship in the Christian life, worship and institutions. And in fact both the opening and closing words of the correspondence, I Cor. 1, 10 and II Cor. 13, 11, sum up his controlling anxiety regarding the danger of dissensions and rupture of fellowship in the one body and temple of the Church. Apart from a general tendency to the sins of strife and faction listed in II Cor. 13, 20, which can be viewed as a common characteristic of Greek communities, there are clear suggestions of a specially divisive element in the Corinthian church life. For it is noteworthy that the sections of the Epistles concerned with cultivating unity and fellowship, are also those concerned with the special oppositions to Paul's teaching and authority which we have been presenting.

Their boast to be of Christ involved of itself, as previously stated, a claim of independence of the ministry and organization of the Church. It revealed besides a spirit of division based on their claim of the more excellent spiritual gifts. Their activity in this spirit and on their principles, instead of edifying, was destructive of all the unifying bonds of a common faith, life, work, worship. So Paul denounces it in connection with his opening counter attack on their repudiation of his ministry and Gospel of redemption by Christ and him crucified, cp. I Cor. 3, 10–17. Their antinomian indifference to fornication is in 6, 12–20 a pollution of the Body of Christ and of the temple of God. The Church's danger from associations with heathen worship arises from their abuse of freedom resting on their boasted superior gnosis. Equally, the threatened breaches in Christian fellowship in the sacrament of unity itself, could most reasonably be referred to their separations, *σχίσματα*, with their adherents in the agapæ, cp. Jude 12, and to their attitude towards the Holy Communion. For on the view of their principles here advocated, we cannot understand how they could sincerely participate in a sacrament contradicting their

'division of Christ' in their docetic denial of a real union of the suffering Jesus with the heavenly Christ; much more their denial of the possibility of relation between the spiritual Christ and the inherently evil matter of bread and wine; of the redemptive power of the death of the human Jesus, and therefore of the religious significance of any symbols of it; contradicting also their denial of Christ's visible return to which this sacrament witnesses until he comes.[19]

If it is granted that such teachers were present in Corinth, it is submitted that Paul's two references to the sacrament are so expressed that it is possible to regard them as made in pointed antagonism to essential errors of these teachers. His opening statement in the first reference, in contrast to their divisive spirit claiming an exclusive position by reason of their alleged gifts, is an emphatic affirmation, I Cor. 10, 15 ff., that communion with Christ in the sacrament is also a realization of the fellowship of believers in a corporate unity in the glorified Christ; since in vs. 17, seeing that there is one bread, we who are many are one body; for we all partake of the one bread.[20] In contradiction of any docetism he speaks here of the body and blood as that of the Christ; and next, 11, 23 ff., states that the sacrament was instituted by Kurios Jesus, and that its celebration is a proclamation of the death of 'the Lord.' Denial or perversion of his death as redemptive, is guarded against by the express words of the Lord Jesus: the body broken is on our behalf; the cup is the new covenant in his blood.

[19] Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, p. 305: "The sacrament of the Eucharist seems on the whole to have been largely disregarded in gnostic circles. A ceremony in whose center stood the idea of 'a communion of the blood and body' with the Redeemer, must have seemed alien and unserviceable to the gnostic sects with their dualistic-ascetic fundamental conception. Their celebration of it, when met with, seems to vary widely from the general Christian Eucharist," as is shown in his discussion, pp. 305–313, and in W. M. Groton, *The Christian Eucharist and the Pagan Cults*: The Gnostic Eucharist, pp. 35–63.

[20] This marginal rendering of the R. V. is also that given by Weizsäcker, Pfleiderer, Jülicher, Schmiedel. R. Schaefer, *Das Herrenmahl*, 1897, pp. 352–359, discusses the various conceptions of the 'body' in this verse; and concludes that it is not the Church nor the ethical body nor the mystical body of Christ, but the spiritual body of the exalted Christ. He grants, however, that the unity of believers as a result of communion with Christ is assumed by Paul as self-evident.

'Until he comes' is as well a rejection of their eschatological teaching that this coming has already taken place. If they still attend and communicate 'unworthily,' not discriminating the Eucharistic meal from other food, they are both warned and are called upon to examine themselves; and this both in the context and in view of II Cor. 13, 5, may refer not merely to their spiritual condition but to their faith in the significance of the Eucharist as delivered from the Lord.

Later in Jude, which many conservative critics date within the next decade or c. 66 A. D., the errorists are vs. 12 σπιλάδες, 'hidden rocks or spots in your agapæ, when they feast with you without fear, shepherds that feed themselves'; and in 13 ff. as in I Cor. 11, 28, are destined for judgment. In 19 these psychics, not having the Spirit, are those who make separations. The similar false teachers in I John 2, 19, went out from us, but they were not of us, . . . that they might be made manifest that they all are not of us. At length we learn in Ignatius of errorists who conduct their services apart from the one Eucharist of the bishop; and as in I Cor. the direct interest of the writer is in their destructive influences on the unity and fellowship of church life and worship.[21]

The disorders in worship occasioned by the errorists in the exercise of the spiritual gifts which they claimed, are discussed, I Cor. 12–14, entirely from the standpoint of love as the essential and universal gift for the common profit of the one body animated by the one indwelling Spirit. In 13, 4–8, this love is the opposite of the spirit of these errorists; and in chap. 15 their denial of resurrection would make vain and nugatory all preaching, all faith and all labor in the service of the Lord. When further in the second Letter he can rejoice in the Church's restored fellowship with himself and with each other in the proofs of their love, 8, 24, cp. 9, 13 ff., he turns in the last four chapters to relentless assault upon his unmasked enemies. Yet controlling this Apologia pro vita sua, is his interest in exposing their work of destruction in beguiling, as the serpent beguiled Eve, the Church which he had espoused as a pure virgin to Christ. In direct contrast to the

[21] Ignatius, *Ephes*, 5, 1. *Philad.* 4, 1. *Smyrn.* 8, 1; 9, 1. See the discussions in Lütgert, *Amt und Geist im Kampf*, pp. 124 ff., where these errorists are held to be in the same connection with the general heretical movement as the antichrists of I John and the separatists in Corinth.

baleful effect of their teaching and aims, is his own zeal for its edification in the communion of the Holy Spirit, as expressed in his closing appeals and assurance: be perfected, be strengthened, be of the same mind, live in peace; and the God of love and peace shall be with you.

An additional warrant for this construction of the data of the polemical element in the Corinthian Epistles as pointing to a definite propaganda by those of Christ, is that all the features we have assigned to it are unified by their boast of gnosis. This gnosis is recognized by Paul to be a specifically Christian gift and manifestation of the Spirit, I Cor. 1, 5; 12, 8. As throughout the New Testament, it is not a product of human speculation in contrast to faith and practical piety; nor an intellectual interest in the Gospel apart from the devotion of feelings and emotions. It is a spiritual illumination begun at conversion, and is the outgrowth of faith. Resting upon divine revelation, it is developed in our union with God in Christ until we know fully even as also we have been fully known by God.[22] It is the deepening 'apprehension of the revelations and activities included in Christian faith': both the deep things of God and the things graciously bestowed upon us by God; the mysteries of the Kingdom and especially its eschatological mysteries. And further it is an application of this developing illumination in all the relations of the personal life of faith. As later in Ephes. 3, 14 ff. so in I Cor. 8, 3 and chap. 13 this spiritual gift is rooted and perfected in the love of God.

The errorists at Corinth, however, boast of this universal Christian gift as their peculiar endowment, or as theirs in excelling measure; and more, by its possession, to be alone the spiritual, the fully mature, the perfect Christians. Hence with them, gnosis, especially in their conception of it, is the essential element in religion. Paul's polemic, therefore, while recognizing gnosis as a principle of Christian growth, rests on his denials that gnosis is the sole and fundamental blessing of the Gospel; and that they in fact possess gnosis. They are therefore not spiritual; and their teachings and activities based on their merely human wisdom and speculations have no warrant, as they claim, of wisdom specially revealed to them. The climax of the Apostle's Hymn of Love is

[22] See the fuller discussion of the character of gnosis in the N. T. Epistles on p. 394 ff.; and also the works cited on p. 388, note 20.

that the essential and abiding elements in the Christian life are faith, hope and love; and of these love is the greatest, as being the perfected outgrowth of faith and the animating life of hope. All other gifts profit solely in their connections with the triad of Christian graces. Definitely as to gnosis: though I know all mysteries and all gnosis and have not love, I am nothing. And yet we know only in part; we see now only in a mirror, ἐν αἰνίγματι. Temporary also is this partial gift: till we see face to face. In the opening prayers of all the four Prison Letters five years later, we recognize again both his interest in gnosis and also his subordination of its function in the development of the Christian personality. It is the love of the Philippians which he prays may abound in the definite sphere of epignosis and all αἴσθησις. The fellowship of Philemon's faith is to become effectual in the epignosis of every good thing which is in us unto Christ. To be filled with epignosis of God's will in all wisdom and spiritual understanding, is in his prayer for the Colossians not an end in itself but a means to walk worthily of the Lord; while the gifts of wisdom and revelation in the epignosis of the Father of glory, which are invoked for the Ephesians are to promote their knowledge of the Christian hope.

But along with full and discriminating recognition of the gnostic element in the development of Christian life, is his denial that what his opponents boast of is really Christian gnosis. While in I and II Cor. he does not directly communicate the contents and systematic construction of their system, he refers to it as a human wisdom; as that of the rulers of this world who are coming to naught; as received from the spirit of this world and expressed in words which human wisdom teaches, I Cor. 2, 6 f.; 12.13. Their gnosis is in truth ἀγνωσία of God, 15.34; and his warfare against these false apostles and ministers of Satan is in II Cor. 10, 4 ff. for the casting down of their fortress: their λογισμοί and every height exalted against the gnosis of God; and for bringing every νόημα, cp. 2, 11, into captivity to the obedience of Christ. From the claim of such a gnosis viewed as the essential element in Christianity, issued the main features of their system and activities which we have attempted to reconstruct. It led naturally to arrogant disparagement of all other spiritual gifts as in I Cor. 12, and to their exclusive claims to be the spiritual and perfect. These next were manifested both in a spirit of separation from the general body of

converts whom they viewed as immature, psychic, fleshly; and also in a spirit of harsh domination and in a demand for recognition and support, II Cor. 11, 20. From their gnosis was derived, I Cor. 8–10, their perverted conception of freedom in contrast to love's freedom even to sacrifice its rights for the profit of the many. This freedom of false gnosis concerning the relation of spirit and nature was the principle of their antinomian emancipation from the moral law. It was too the all-sufficiency of this gnosis which emancipated them from all other external authority of Apostolic ministry, tradition and institutions. Their denial of the Parousia and future consummation of the Kingdom rested likewise on their present possession in their spiritual enlightenment, of the supreme messianic blessings which to others were still objects only of Christian hope. The dualistic element of their gnosis appearing in their denial of any resurrection body, determines their rejection of a redemptive death upon the Cross. And it would leave no place for a real union of the spiritual Christ and the earthly Jesus; for a heavenly Christ obedient to death, yea the death of the Cross. A false gnosis moreover already assuming its possession of wisdom and power from a direct subjective divine revelation, would find no revelation of divine power in a Christ crucified in weakness; and no wisdom in a Cross on which it failed to recognize the supreme revelation of the love of God in Christ, which passes gnosis.

These results of an attempt to reconstruct the controlling features of the movement in Corinth opposed to Paul, thus accord with and illuminate the indications of a similar propaganda in the earlier Epistles to Thessalonica. It remains for us to inquire whether any support for our construction can be found in the Epistle to the Romans, written in Corinth within less than a half a year after the Apostle's intense polemic with 'those of Christ.'

THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS

Just before closing the Epistle to the Romans, Paul warns them against the influence of certain false teachers, 16, 17 ff. They are not described as already present in Rome, or if so, as already operating in the Church. We are here regarding the passage and the chapter as an integral part of the Epistle to the Romans, and not as very largely held, as belonging to a letter to Ephesus.[23]

[23] The arguments in favor of the Ephesian address and the list of its ad-

After the commendation of Phœbe and the greetings to friends and loyal churchworkers in Rome, follows in 17 ff. a contrasted denunciation of the errorists. The sudden change of tone has led R. Scott, *Pauline Epistles*, p. 246, to regard the passage as 'a manifest interpolation' of Timothean authorship. Yet the abruptness of this denunciation is not due as Sanday and Headlam plead, p. 429, 'to zeal and earnestness making his letters somewhat formless' or leading to 'absence of regular method.' For we find such juxtapositions so constantly in the New Testament Epistles as to suggest a custom; and possibly a custom related also to some definite church method of recognition or rejection of strangers seeking communion with the Church. Thus we find the commendatory letters for Timothy, Philippians 2, 19, and for Epaphroditus 2, 25, immediately followed by warnings against the intruding evil workers and enemies of the cross in 3, 2–21. I Cor. closes with commendations and greetings, 16, 15–21, upon which follows the anathema on his opponents. The commendations of Titus and the brethren, II Cor. 8 and 9, are followed with the same abruptness as Rom. 16, 17 by four chapters of denunciation of the Christ party. Galatians closes likewise with sudden renewed denunciations of the Judaizers, 6, 6–15, and a benediction on those who walk by Paul's rule. In the Pastorals, I Tim. closes with a definite warning against those professing the false gnosis. Titus ends with a direction to shun after two admonitions a man that causes divisions αἱρετικόν, and that as Titus knows is one who is perverted, sinning and self-condemned. This again is linked with Paul's commendatory note in favor of the four fellow-workers he names. His last letter follows the

vocates are given by Moffatt, *Introd.*, p. 134 and *H. N. T.*, 209. Among those in favor of the Roman destination are Lightfoot, Hort, Sanday-Headlam, Drummond; Godet, Jacquier; Riggenbach, Schlatter, Zahn, Heinrici, Harnack, C. Clemen. Lake, while concluding in favor of the Ephesian hypothesis, recognizes the force of the fact that 16, 1–23 is an integral part of all the MSS. of the Epistle we now possess. Spitta, who assigns the passage to a later smaller Letter to Rome states the case thus: only when the proof is produced that vss. 3–16 cannot belong to a Roman Letter, can we approach the Ephesian hypothesis. Harnack, Z. N. T. W. 1, 23 n., holds that 'Zahn has proven anew that the grounds upon which it is supposed to be necessary to remove chap. 16 from Romans, are not sufficient.' Lietzmann concludes that the difficulty of understanding chap. 16 as a portion of Romans is not so great as that of the hypothesis that vss. 1–23 are a fragment of a lost letter.

same form: it too closes with a definite warning against Alexander and with a sorrowing prayer for those who had abandoned him, II Tim. 4, 14 ff., followed by his greetings. One of his earliest Letters, II Thess., has a similar form. It likewise closes in 3, 6–15 with a denunciatory charge against his opponents, which is abruptly joined at vs. 16 with his benediction and greeting. In particular in vs. 14 the Church is to 'note' the man disobeying the charge and to have no company with him. Finally, the latest New Testament Letters are framed on the model of a commendatory letter. II John 1–6 first commends the Church addressed; next, vss. 7–11, it denounces gnostic teachers and warns against their reception into the Church and even against offering them the Christian salutation. III John 1–8 commends Gaius for his Christian life and for his acceptance of the commendatory letters sent to him; in 9–11 it denounces the opposition and conduct of Diotrephes in his repudiation of the writer and his refusal to accept commendatory letters sent to him, such as in vs. 12 is here given to Demetrius.

There is, therefore, nothing unusual in this collocation of denunciation in Rom. 16, 17 ff. with the preceding commendations and greetings, which are normal features of the usual rhetorical framework of a Pauline letter. Against the more serious criticism that both greetings and warnings were sent not to Rome but Ephesus, we may repeat Godet's remark that it is inconceivable that Paul would address our passage to a Church wherein he had just spent three years, and where he had written I Cor., and which must, therefore, already know of the Corinthian opposition and have been warned long since by him against such adversaries. To this may be added that we have in Acts 20, 17 ff. Luke's report of a similar warning to the presbyter-bishops of Ephesus, given a few weeks after the warning of Rom. 16, 17. Comparing them we can observe that they point to different groups of hearers: in the Ephesian group, to those already acquainted with the opposing movement; in Rom. 16 to those needing a description of its dominant features. In Acts 20 he first vindicates as in I and II Cor. and with an appeal to their own knowledge, the completeness of his Gospel ministry, vss. 18–27, both in his initial preaching and also in his communication of the whole counsel of God. On the foundation of this ministry the Ephesian clergy are charged

to shepherd the Church of God. And the statement that it was purchased by his blood, his own, receives illumination from his emphasis, known to them in any case from his Corinthian controversy, upon the Cross and blood of Christ.[24] Definitely, they are to watch both against the entrance of grievous wolves and against the arising from among themselves of errorists whom to his Ephesian hearers already instructed, vs. 31, he need not further describe than as men not sparing the flock; as speaking perverse things, cp. Acts 13, 8.10, in reference to Elymas, to draw away disciples after them; and possibly in connection with 33–35, as demanding financial support for their teachings. But concerning the contents and methods of the false teaching itself, there is no need to warn the pastors of Ephesus. Being already instructed and having in memory Paul's three years' ministry of admonition among them, they are now to guard against the destructive activity of the false teachers in the flock and against their attempt to cause divisions. In contrast, the more definite references, as will be shown, to the teachings and methods of the errorists in Rom. 16, point to the fact that they are addressed not to these instructed Ephesian Christians, but to Romans who as yet have no direct acquaintance with the movement which it could be rightly anticipated would appear among them.

Holding that the warning in Rom. 16 was sent to the Christians in Rome we can further regard it as directed against a possible intrusion of the Corinthian false apostles into this Church loyal to Pauline principles. The reference cannot be as commonly asserted to Judaizing opponents, since Paul would not so describe

[24] Hort, *N. T. Appendix*, p. 99, suggests that in early transcription ΥΙΟΥ, whose insertion leaves the passage free from difficulty of any kind, has dropped out. This could result not only from similarity in sight and sound of the fully written ΤΟΥΙΔΙΟΥΥΙΟΥ, but from the usually abbreviated form ΙΔΙΟΥΥΥ. This conjectural phrase appears in a somewhat related context, Rom. 8, 32: ὅς γε τοῦ ἰδίου Υἱοῦ οὐκ ἐφείσατο, ἀλλὰ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν πάντων παρέδωκεν αὐτόν. It accords also with all the other N. T. references to blood in connection with redemption, as the blood of Christ: Rom. 3, 25; 5, 9; I Cor. 10, 16; 11, 25.27; Ephes. 1, 7; I John 1, 7 the blood of Jesus τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ. In Rev. 5, 9 appears the same thought as in Acts 20, 28: the Lamb purchased unto God men of every tribe, etc., ἐν τῷ αἵματί σου and made them unto God a kingdom; cp. also 7, 14 ff.

them, especially as slaves to their own belly. Nor to the 'strong' Christians of chap. 14, with whom he identifies himself, 15, 1, and whom the weak, 14, 3, are not to judge, for God has received them. Understood as pointing to the Christ party, even his compressed description of them reproduces significantly their most prominent features as we have recognized them in the Corinthian Epistles. In view of the threatened danger to the unity and fellowship of Church life which would be the ultimate issue of their activity, they are at once denounced as those who cause divisions: such as have appeared at the Corinthian agapæ and in the general spirit of the Corinthian Church life, which were the definite occasion, I Cor. 1, 10, of the Corinthian correspondence and whose removal was, II Cor. 13, 11, its dominating purpose. In the sphere of Christian morals they furnish occasion of stumbling within and without the Church, cp. I Cor. 10, 32, as the abusers of spiritual freedom in Corinth were recognized to be such occasions by their antinomian libertinism. For here too they are men who act contrary to the didache the Romans learned at their conversion: the instruction in faith, morals, the last things and the Church fellowship. They are also indicated as professing the object of their faith to be our exalted Kurios Christos, in contrast to the human Jesus; but their boast of service of the Christ is in truth a selfish and sensual service of their own belly, as already alluded to in the quotation from the Christian libertines, I Cor. 6, 13, and as later asserted of the same class of errorists, Philippians 3, 19. And as in I Thess. 2, 3 f. and I Cor. 2,4; II Cor. 11, 3, cp. also the πιθανολογία, of the Colossian heresy 2, 4, they beguile the hearts of the innocent by smooth discourse and flattering speech. This persuasive speech may even be teaching concerning the nature of gnosis, based upon their allegorical exposition of the Genesis account of the temptation at the tree of gnosis of good and evil. For his own closing words are based upon it; and they may like II Cor. 11, 3 be a retort, turning their own weapons against them. In both passages the Churches are viewed as exposed to temptation while in a state of innocence. The Corinthian Church is compared to Eve. Its innocence is stressed; and it is espoused as a pure virgin to Christ. As Eve was deceived by the serpent, so these ministers of Satan who fashions himself as an angel of light, seek to corrupt the thoughts

of the Corinthians from their innocence: their simplicity and purity towards Christ. The same comparison reappears in Rom. 16, 18 ff. In their widely known obedience to the Gospel the Roman Christians are as yet ἄκακοι: innocent in the singleness and purity of their devotion to Christ. The intruders may seek to 'deceive' them, as in II Cor. 11, 3 and Gen. 3, 13, by the smooth speaking and flattering speech of Gen. 3, 4.5, concerning the tree, Gen. 2, 9, τοῦ εἰδέναι γνωστὸν καλοῦ καὶ πονηροῦ.[25] But Paul aims to maintain them in Christian gnosis vs. 19 as wise unto the good and free from admixture with the evil, cp. also I Cor. 14, 20. Summing up then the teaching of the spurious gnosis as a work of Satan, as in II Cor. 11, 13–15, he makes a further allusion to Gen. 3, 15: the God of peace and not of ἀκαταστασία, Rom. 16, 17, and I Cor. 14, 33, shall bruise Satan under your feet. The addition ἐν τάχει as has been conjectured by Schultz, has probably also a reassuring reference to Christ's speeding victory at his return which the false teachers deny. The phrase summarizes and applies constant formulæ concerning the conflict with evil ending with the Lord's coming ἐν τάχει which is found in every group of New Testament writings.

If at this point it is urged that these characteristics and parallels may reveal the references to be in Paul's mind to his Corinthian opponents, but that these references would not be evident to his Roman readers, we may recall the presence of Aquila and Prisca to furnish the needed explanations. And if further, as is frequently asserted, the passage is thought to be out of harmony with an Epistle 'so completely destitute of direct controversy'; or that the passage of mere warning furnishes no means of repelling the deceptive smooth speaking, we may next notice that the readers have been already directly forearmed against it by the Epistle itself.

Written at the close of the period of the defense and confirmation of the Gospel in his five Epistles to Galatia, Thessalonica and Corinth, and while facing the deadly perils of his Jerusalem visit Rom. 15, 30 f., the Apostle finds occasion to sum up his controlling

[25] This Genesis reference is a better clue to the meaning of χρηστολογία and εὐλογία than the traditional quotation from Julius Capitolinus and the passages in Wettstein.

teachings as these have been further developed and applied in the preceding controversies, and to send them to Rome, to serve as it might prove to be, in B. Weiss's phrase, *Introd.*, § 22.7, as his bequest and testament to that Church and in it to Christendom in general. For here was a Church which in its as yet imperfect organization needed his teachings; which would be able to utilize it for the extension of the Gospel; and to which he had long been hoping to deliver it in person. Such an aim, to establish them in his Gospel on the basis of the results of his apology and polemic against its opponents, we find clearly reflected in the structure of the Epistle. At one point indeed, 3, 27–31, the swift questions recall respectively the twenty years of conflict with Jewish rejection of the universalism preached in his Gospel; the ten years of Judaistic opposition to salvation by grace instead of legalism; and the five or more years of antinomian perversion of the freedom of faith. In a broad survey of his Apologia of his Gospel, the first two chapters sum up his teaching of the need of a divine justification in view of the coming judgment of Gentile and Jew for their sin, by the one God, and in accordance with his preaching of the Gospel, which for the heathen began with the Jewish apologetic, as appears in the framework of this opening section. The next chapters, 3–5, 11, summarize his teaching of justification by faith, as it was wrought out in the Judaistic controversy. Chapters 9–11 attest against the ignorant zeal of Jewish attacks that justification by faith is in harmony with the eternal redeeming purpose of God which is realized by the method of election.

Of the doctrinal portion of the Epistle there remain the chapters 5, 12–8, 39. It is the exegetical tradition based on dogmatic interest, to regard chaps. 6–8 as treating of sanctification as the corollary to the justification presented in the preceding three chapters. But although the section contains much characteristic teaching concerning 'progressive righteousness' resting on mystic union with the risen Christ, Sanday-Headlam, p. 38, this is not the unifying theme. In this section as in the whole Letter his aim is the establishment of the readers in the life of justification. And the definite purpose of these chapters becomes clear when we view them as the summing up for this establishment of Roman Christians, of his experience and teachings in his remaining controversy with the pneumatic and gnostic errorists in Thessa-

lonica and Corinth, as it bears upon his doctrine of justification by faith in the incarnate, atoning and glorified Redeemer.

This involves a refutation of their perversion of the freedom of the Gospel by antinomian libertinism and boasts of perfection by gnosis: turning the grace of God into lasciviousness; sinning that grace may abound; spurning the holy Law as being itself sin. This refutation in chaps. 6 and 7, including the resulting exhortations to walk in newness of life, is founded on the Two Adams section 5, 12 ff., in which he develops for the Romans his arguments against the Corinthian deniers of Christ's Parousia and the general resurrection, whose libertinism and boasts of gnosis are also alluded to in I Cor. 15, 33 f. In I Cor. he had begun his discussion of the eschatological denial with a reference to the Two Adams, the heads of humanity facing respectively death and life eternal. In the climax, vss. 55 ff., he had correlated death, sin and law: sin, the sting of death, law the strength of sin; and the triple links of the series were contrasted with the victory in the Second Adam, which, therefore, includes freedom from legalism, from the power of sin and from the sting of death.[26]

It is these compressed statements which are now developed in Rom. 5, 12 ff., and with the same purpose of establishing his readers against the intrusion of the Corinthian errorists. In the heart of the argument in Rom., vs. 17 as in I Cor., is seen the controlling interest in the redeeming and glorifying power of Christ's resurrection life: as death reigned by the sin of the one man, much more shall all in Christ 'reign in life' by the one, Jesus Christ, who is thus the first fruits of them who are fallen asleep. Yet this universal offer of eternal life in Christ can only be received by those who also receive the abundance of grace and the gift of righteousness, unto justification which is life, vs. 18. This freedom from the sting of death by the union of the justified believer with the risen Christ is thus at the same time a freedom from sin and its power, manifested in a life of righteousness in contrast to the false apostles' indifference to morality. With vs. 20, in explication of his statement in I Cor. that the power of Sin is the Law, he meets the abuse of the teaching of freedom and

[26] Moffatt is in agreement with the view of the scholars cited by him, *H. N. T.* 628 and *Introd.* 114, that I Cor. 15, 56 is an unauthentic and inappropriate interpolation of an exegetical marginal gloss.

of the peace of law in the religion of Spirit, by a renewal of his fundamental teaching, Gal. 3, 19 ff., that the Law is temporary; yet is only transcended, not by antinomian independence of all authority but by the royal rule and domination of grace by means of righteousness.

The whole section is thus the foundation of the developed teaching and exhortations to holiness of life in the two following chapters, and of their applications against the libertines and antinomians to whom they allude. That they are directed against such opponents abusing justification by faith and not against Judaizers' complaints concerning its consequences, appears from the fact that the three questions, 6, 1; 6, 15; 7, 7, are not unwarranted dialectical taunts of Paul's enemies as to the logical outcome of his Gospel, but as Pfleiderer recognizes, *Urchristm.*, 1, 164, are conclusions actually drawn and put in practice; although not as he holds by 'many heathen Christians,' but as he too perceives by the false teachers of Corinth. Upon the conclusion of his repudiation of their positions, he gives in chap. 8, the heart of the Epistle, his full and positive statement of justification in all its relations to God's eternal purpose of world-redemption as revealed in the Gospel of his Son. Yet it is so constructed, and it may reasonably be believed constructed with such direct intention, that it meets and repudiates every feature of the false teaching he has unmasked at Corinth.

The chapter opens with a special affirmation of the mystic union of believers and Christ in the phrase 'those in Christ Jesus.' It may here be significant as a reassertion of II Cor. 10, 7: if any man trusts in himself that he is 'of Christ,' let him consider this again with himself that as he is of Christ, so also are we. For such a description of Christians, and its equivalent, 6, 11, 'living unto God in Christ Jesus,' as summing up the mystic union with which this section opens in 6, 1–10, occurs here for the first time in the Epistle; and the title, 'to be of Christ' appears in the Epistle only in vs. 9 of this chapter: if any man has not the Spirit of Christ, οὗτος οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτοῦ. The phrase in vs. 1, 'those in Christ Jesus' may have been originally further qualified by the contrast to 'those in Christ' in Corinth, in the words now omitted in our critical texts: who walk not after the flesh.[27]

[27] This is the reading of A, a corrector of D, Vulgate, some Old Latin MSS.

In this mystical union the Christian possesses the Spirit of Christ; and it is a spirit of freedom. But by the phrase, vs. 2, 'the law of the Spirit,' Paul guards against the antinomian errorists who claimed emancipation from all law just because of their possession of the Spirit. For freedom by this law, not of the external letter but of the indwelling Spirit as an inner illumination of duty and an invigoration of the will, is here presented not as an emancipation from the δικαίωμα, the righteousness required by the holy law of God, vs. 4, but from the law, vs. 2, the impelling force of the sin and death in our members, cp. 7, 21. This freedom moreover in vss. 3.4, is possible only as the result of the incarnation and redemption of Christ, and is realized only in our moral walk according to the Spirit which we have received.

The extremely difficult exegetical problems centering in the several debated expressions and structure of this third verse, are illuminated by the view that it presents in antitheses Paul's refutation of the positions of the errorists. The conciseness and the compression of so many profound subjects in a single formulation ranging from the sending of the preëxistent Son to our moral walk, points out that it is a definite summary of the conflict with false teachers at Corinth which has been just won by him. In contradiction of them he has given already in chap. 7 his teaching of the relation of the flesh not inherently sinful, to sin and the Law. Against any form of docetic christology he now asserts that the condemnation of that sin in that flesh has been accom-

and other versions and fathers. In many MSS. there was later added to it: 'but after the Spirit,' to conform to vs. 4. It is possible that scribes correcting this addition, were led to delete both the phrases. The retention of 'walk not after the flesh' would accord with the thirteen mentions of flesh in the succeeding twelve verses, and also to 'the law of sin and death in our members' in vs. 2. See Sanday-Headlam, *in loc.*, who, however, regard the variants as interpolations in two steps. Zahn rejects the addition since in his view it would result in the meaningless statement that those in Christ could be also thought of as walking after the flesh. This overlooks the possibility that the combination could allude to Paul's exposure in I and II Cor. of the really fleshly mind and conduct of those falsely claiming to have the Spirit of Christ. In II Cor. 10, 2.3 it was the charge of the Christ party against Paul himself; and in the related polemic against their principles, Rom. 6, he similarly combines union with Christ, vs. 1–11, with exhortations against service of lusts in our mortal body. Jude 18.19 likewise describes the errorists as walking in lusts while falsely claiming to be spiritual.

plished by God sending, not a Christ either temporarily or in mere appearance united with Jesus, but his own Son. And the full reality of his incarnation and redemptive death is summed up in the expressions, sent 'in the likeness of flesh of sin and for sin.' The dogmatic import of these expressions is, as well known, the subject of keenest current debate. But we are here concerned only with the fact that the occasion of them is satisfactorily accounted for on the view that they are directed against a docetism based on a false dualism and issuing in an indifference to Christian morality. In opposition to it, there is in these verses a declaration of an incarnation in full reality, and a definite reference to the redemptive death of the incarnate Son in the phrase *περὶ ἁμαρτίας*. Our present interest is to recognize that the compressed statements are closely parallel to the fuller statements in his controversy with the Corinthian opponents, II Cor. 5, 12–20, and especially with the climax in vs. 21: *τὸν μὴ γνόντα ἁμαρτίαν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἁμαρτίαν ἐποίησεν*, that we might become the righteousness of God in him. We find also later in Philippians 2, 7, *ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπων, σχήματι εὑρεθεὶς ὡς ἄνθρωπος*, parallel to Rom. 8, 3, directed against gnosticizing erroists.

On the foundation of the teaching of these vss. 3 and 4 which had been successfully maintained and in several lines developed in his conflict with the Christ party, and definitely against their indifference to the moral walk of Christians, he proceeds, vss. 5–17, to establish the Roman Christians in walking according to the Spirit as free children of God with the spirit of adoption and as fellow-heirs with Christ. And as constantly in the New Testament, the inspiration for this filial walk in obedience is the hope of sharing the glory of Christ at his return in glory. The faithful saying 'as truly as we suffer with him in order that we may be also glorified with him,' is the key-note of the rest of the chapter, in which is estimated the worth of the sufferings of the present *καιρός* and the glory that is going to be revealed to us-ward. It is the fullest development of the eschatological theme 'through much tribulation we must enter into the Kingdom of God'; which as here, was the basis of the establishment of the first Pauline converts, Acts 14, 22. Coming directly after his conflict with the Corinthian deniers of resurrection, cp. I Cor. 15, 19 and *contra*, vs. 58, we can recognize in Rom. 8, 18–25 reflections of

that conflict and a renewal of his affirmations that the promise of resurrection life is not completely realized in our present gift of the Spirit. In that gift, vs. 23, we have as yet only the first fruits and earnest of our perfected sonship, which we still await in the redemption of our body. Contradicting Corinthian dualism of spirit and inherently evil matter, he asserts that both our body and the whole creation shall yet be delivered at the Parousia from the servitude of corruption into the freedom of the glory of the children of God: a glory assured to those who love God, by his eternal purpose, vss. 28–30, that we should be sharers of the essential form of the image of his Son who in his resurrection is the first-born of many brethren; or as in I Cor. 15, 20 the first fruits and pledge of a harvest of general resurrection. From this redeeming love of God in Christ, vss. 31–34, can nothing separate us: not the seven-fold earthly sufferings of vss. 35–37; nor, vss. 38.39, the superhuman, superterrestrial or sub-terrestrial powers of gnostic teaching threatening to bar us from our direct access by Christ in one Spirit unto the Father.

The indications of this section 5, 12–8, 39 of establishment of the Roman Church by means of his Corinthian experiences, against the possible inroads of the false apostles of Corinth, are further strengthened by the section of practical exhortations in 12, 1 ff. In this paranetic division of the Epistle as Sanday and Headlam state, "the main idea running through the whole section seems to be that of peace and unity for the Church in all its relations. As in the earlier portion of the Epistle, . . . he lays the foundation of unity and harmony on deep and broad principles," p. 351. Accepting this religious aim, we submit also that the method and basis of this establishment is the utilization and application of his experience and teachings in conflict with the Corinthian errorists. In 5, 12–8, 39, he had already applied these results in regard to matters of faith, moral walk in the Spirit of Love and Christian hope. He will now apply them in connection with the remaining topic of primitive instruction, Church fellowship. The scope of the section is indicated in its initial and concluding summaries. In each the corporate life of the Church is referred to in terms of spiritual sacrificial worship and service, which is animated by the gift of gnosis from the indwelling Spirit, issuing in all forms of 'well-doing,' ἀγαθωσύνη, towards those within and without the

Church. Thus at the close, 15, 14 ff., he states that in this section of admonition he is impressing upon their memory certain features, ἀπὸ μέρους, of the earlier instruction given to them whereby they are able to admonish one another. For they are full of well-doing, and this because they are filled with all gnosis. He has, however, written with the purpose of fulfilling his Apostolic ministry, here described in spiritual sacrificial terms. Directly parallel to this passage, with the topics in reverse order, he bases in 12, 1 ff. the succeeding admonitions on his reference to Church life as a whole in sacrificial terms. It is a devotion of a Church, a λαός, ναός, as in I Pet. 2, 4–10, existing by the 'mercies' of God in calling the Gentiles and finally restoring Israel, which in Rom. 11, 30–32 is the climax of his argument based on the Old Testament citations 9, 15.25 ff. 33; 10, 19; 11, 26, and practically of all the texts employed. Hence their bodies, as the Corinthians were instructed at the outset, 6, 15.20, οὐκ οἴδατε, are members of Christ, are a temple of the indwelling Spirit, in which they are to glorify God; and as in I Pet. 2, 5, as living stones in a spiritual house built on Christ the living corner stone, they are here as a holy priesthood, to present and devote themselves as a living sacrifice, their spiritual λατρεία. In order to do this, as in 15, 14 they are filled with all gnosis, so here they have a metamorphosis, an essential change in the renewing of their νοῦς. With this they no longer fashion themselves to the moral standards and conduct of this world, which as in the parallel admonitions, I Cor. 7, 31; I Pet. 1, 13–15.24; I John 2, 13–17, passes away; but with this fullness of gnosis, enlightenment and power, they are as in 15, 14 filled with well doing: they may as in Ephes. 5, 17.10 understand, and here, approve the will of God for the renewed life in all its relations.

The selection of admonitions from this topic of primitive instruction, is found to be controlled by the discussion in I Cor. 12–14 concerning fellowship and unity in the Church as it was threatened by errorists whose boasted gnosis is without love and is endangering the order, worship and work of the Church by the claim of superior spiritual gifts freeing them from ministerial authority. First in vss. 3–8, to guard against arrogant claims of a superior gnosis, he repeats the argument of I Cor. 12 as to the function of the several gifts for the profit of the one body of the Church. This leads in vss. 9–21 as in I Cor. 13, to Love as the

supreme principle in mutual service, fellowship and devotion, and in long-suffering and endurance in the face of opposition. In direct development of these latter admonitions, and as has been suggested, to warn against the probable indications of an ominous spirit of emancipation from the social order and customs, I Cor. 7, 20 ff. 11, 3 ff., on the false principles of the errorists, we find the injunction of loyalty to the State, 13, 1–7; and in 8–12 he renews the teaching that love inspired by the hope of the Parousia denied by the false teachers, is the fulfillment of all law, in contrast, vss. 13.14, to the disorder, sensuality and divisive spirit which we found as characteristics of the errorists in the earlier Epistles.

The remainder of the section 14, 1–15, 13 treats of unity within the Church by mutual toleration. With Sanday-Headlam we consider that it does not refer to any existing controversy in Rome, or to definite parties of weak and strong. Rather, it is aimed to guard against such a situation by inculcating principles of Church fellowship generalized from his experience and decisions in the Corinthian controversy. Since he includes himself among 'the strong,' he evidently refers to the power and freedom of faith which is the outcome of true gnosis. But he again guards against the abuse of it as being the essential and determining principle, which in 14, 15 as in I Cor. 13 is love. In Corinth it was thus abused so as to become a stumbling block to Greeks, Jews and the Church, by participation in heathen temple worship. There is, however, nothing to suggest such an abuse in the Roman Church. The occasion of the section has therefore to be sought in a determination of the disputed question, who are 'the weak,' which to Lake, p. 382, appears to be insoluble. For as he and Sanday-Headlam show they cannot be converted heathen ascetics, who would have no interest in the observance of days; nor, we may add, ascetics on Jewish gnostic principles, whom he opposes in Colossians; nor Essenes, who are not known outside Palestine; nor alleged Ebionites nor Judaizers whom he would not treat in this lenient manner, and who would not be obliged to abstain from flesh and wine; nor is it likely, in view of the definite Jewish allusions, that Paul here presents, as Sanday-Headlam conclude, the eater and non-eater as types of an excessive scrupulousness and of an utter indifference to external observances.

As a remaining possibility we may suggest, in development of 'the oldest explanation,' Sanday-Headlam, p. 400, that the reference is to Jewish Christians in Rome and elsewhere who, as yet, weak in the freedom of faith, continue to live Mosaically like their brethren in Jerusalem whom Paul recognizes; and specifically to live as heretofore according to the definite rules for Jews associated with heathen especially in foreign lands. We have these rules in the Mishna tractate on Idolatry, 'Aboda zara.[28] In it, although abstinence from wine and flesh is not commanded in the Mosaic law, various forms of abstinences from them are enjoined upon Jews in the midst of heathen life, in order to avoid possible defiling associations with idolatry. As wine may have been devoted to idols by libation at the vintage or in any case defiled by contact with a heathen, its prohibition in every conceivable case forms a principal interest of the tractate. There is a similar prohibition of meat and all other foods which could have any association with idolatry or involve a possible breach of Mosaic food-laws.[29] The description of the abstainer, Rom. 14, 2, as eating herbs or vegetables, is illustrated by the prohibition of heathen bread or of eating bread with a heathen, chap. 2, 6, cp. 3, 9, with the notes of Elmslie, p. 38, and of Strack, p. 9. The scrupulousness even in regard to vegetables is exhibited in the curious prohibition, chap. 2, 6.7, of the juice of a root which must be cut, and thus possibly with a contaminated knife; and in the permission to eat the leaf of the same plant, which could be plucked by the hand. The Jewish Christian abstainer in Rom. 14 could thus be referred to as observing the food rules preserved in this tractate. When he is also described as esteeming one day above another, the reference is obviously to his Mosaic sabbath observance. And Paul enjoins that these converts living in such heathen centers as Rome and

[28] It did not indeed assume its present form until c. 200 A. D., yet its decisions are the results of discussions of earlier generations; and 'the legislation which it sets forth arose to satisfy the religious scruples of orthodox Judaism contemporary with Apostolic or sub-Apostolic Christianity': Elmslie, *Texts and Studies*, VIII, p. iii, citing also Abrahams, *Camb. Bib. Essays*, pp. 184 ff.

[29] "As in old Israel all slaughter was sacrifice, so animal food was partaken by Greeks and Romans as by Semites, through the mediation of sacrificial consecration. The problem of eating meat consecrated to heathen gods was felt alike by Christians and by Jews": Elmslie, p. 32, quoting also W. Robertson Smith.

Corinth, shall be granted liberty to continue their previous observances. This was neither an approval of Judaizing attempts to foist Mosaic customs upon heathen converts, nor of Colossian Jewish gnostic attempts to introduce abstinences on dualistic principles of asceticism. He therefore urges their reception without controversy: without disputes concerning the views underlying the conduct in this matter, of either class.[30] Paul who in the interest of church unity and fellowship recognized the liberty of the Jerusalem Apostles and Christians fully persuaded in their own minds, to live Mosaically, is here in the same interest urging 'the strong' at Rome to exercise the same toleration; [31] on the general principle, 14, 15, of walking according to love as in I Cor. 8–11, 1; 13, under the Lordship and example of the One Christ who pleased not himself; who became minister of circumcision both to confirm the promises to the Jewish Fathers, and also that the Gentiles might glorify Israel's God. Accordingly the section closes with Old Testament citations applied to the Jewish Messiah praising God among the Gentiles; while they join the Jewish people in praises with one mouth to Israel's God, since their hope is fixed upon Israel's Messiah, the root of Jesse. In this united

[30] This paraphrase by Zahn of διακρίσεις διαλογισμῶν has in its favor a number of N. T. parallels in language, substance and context, *e. g.*, I Tim. 2, 8; I Cor. 11, 16, which suggest a primitive Christian phrase and rule, possibly related to the Jewish rule controlling controversy, 'machloqeth.' The term appears in 'Aboda Zara, 1, 6, following a reference to observance of local custom: 'Let no man alter this for fear of controversy'; and Elmslie notes: 'The clause is a warning against being eccentric in matters of ritual observance and lightly causing dissension in the Jewish community.'

[31] The Pauline teaching of chap. 14 f. is renewed in the resolution of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, on motion of the Rev. Dr. F. W. Tomkins, deputy from Penna., Journal of 1906, p. 217. After the preambles that the attitude of the Church Universal towards the Jews, since the days of Constantine, has caused the opinion to be widespread in Jewry that loyalty to Christ involves disloyalty to Israel; and that the Jews are on the eve of national restoration to the Holy Land, the Convention "proclaims to the Jews that they are left free, if they so desire, to observe the national and social customs of Israel when they accept our Lord Jesus Messiah, according to the teaching and practice of Christ and the Hebrew Christians in the primitive Church. In adopting this Resolution the General Convention distinctively affirms that neither Jew nor Gentile can be saved by works of the Law, but only through the merits and mediation of Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour."

worship the Jewish Apostle of the Gentiles joins with the prayer that God who gives this hope will fill them with all joy and peace in believing, that they may abound in hope in the power of the Holy Ghost; and already in I Cor. 15, 58, establishment in the hope of glory with the returning Christ is to be their inspiration always to abound in the work of the Lord.

We have thus recognized in our examination of the group of Pauline Epistles written between 51 and 58 A. D. many of the distinctive features and methods and the probable doctrinal trend of a Jewish mystic, gnostic movement. We have found it to be pre-supposed in the Thessalonian Letters, attacked with increasing definiteness in I Cor., openly denounced in II Cor., and guarded against by means of his successful earlier defense and polemic, in large sections of Romans. We turn now to the later New Testament Epistles in which such a movement or its beginning is generally admitted, to compare the indications of its characteristics and activities, and of the defense and polemic directed against it, with the results we have thus far reached.

3. EPISTLES OF THE IMPRISONMENT

COLOSSIANS, EPHESIANS AND PHILIPPIANS

We have first considered the indications of the existence and characteristics of a gnostic movement in the earlier groups of Pauline Epistles dating from 51 to 58 A. D., and all of them connected with Corinth. This order of investigation has been chosen not only as the chronological and logical basis for the study of the later activities of the movement and of the Pauline polemic against it, but also because its existence in this early period is generally either denied or ignored or not utilized constructively.[32] Those Epistles exhibit the Apostle's polemic while writing amid his work in Corinth, Proconsular Asia and Macedon; and the latest of the group reveals his interest to guard against the intrusion of the

[32] B. Weiss, *Introd.*, § 24, 4, sees in Colossians a new opposition to Paul. McGiffert, *Apos. Age*, p. 369, finds in that Epistle 'the first appearance of that syncretism of Oriental theosophy and Christian faith which in one form or another characterized all the gnostic systems of the second century.' To Pfleiderer also, *Urchristm.*, I, 187, 'the errors combatted in Colossians are of a different kind from those with which Paul had heretofore had to deal.'

movement into the Church of Rome. The succeeding group of the four Prison Letters written from Rome about 63 A. D., will exhibit his continued attack upon its activities as it appears in the provinces of Asia and Macedon. We shall endeavor to show that in this group of Epistles the characteristics of the opposing movement are the same as those in the earlier group; that they follow the same line of development; and that the now distincter features of the system accord with and elucidate the intimations and conjectural construction of the data we have proposed; and that therefore the polemic of this later group is directed against the same movement which was opposed in the Epistles written some five years earlier.

It is usual to find the first appearance of such a movement in Colosse, and as occasioned there by well-known syncretistic local conditions. Even with this limited recognition we should also expect to find references to it in the companion encyclical Epistle to the Ephesians intended to circulate in the adjacent districts; and we are also led to expect references to it in Philippians, written in the same surroundings and probably at nearly the same time. We shall therefore examine the group as a whole, and consider the evidence for the presence of a gnostic propaganda in the general structure and leading topics of the several Epistles; as our limits will not permit a direct study of the various special expressions which are the usual grounds for concluding the presence of gnostic influence, and which are studied in the leading commentaries in the light of recent researches in the History of Religions. The results of literary criticism, which has indeed been affected by the question of the gnostic allusions, enable us to accept as genuine all the letters of the group: Philippians and Philemon being long since accepted by critics of all schools; Colossians, with some exceptions, yet by such representative scholars as Bacon, McGiffert, Moffatt and von Soden; Ephesians, very generally; and though not accepted by Moffatt, von Soden and others, is yet distinctly recognized by Bacon, *N. T. Intdctn.*, p. 116 ff., as well as by M. Dibelius and McGiffert. Jülicher favors the genuineness of Colossians, yet thinks, *Enc. Bib.* 868, concerning Ephesians that 'perhaps the question ought to be left open as not yet ripe for settlement.'

We first observe that all the churches addressed in this group are loyal to Pauline teachings. Expressions emphasizing his

confidence and reliance characterize all the four Epistles. He joys when beholding in spirit the order, τάξις, and stedfastness, στερέωμα, of the Colossians' faith in Christ, 2, 5; cp. 1, 3–8; 2, 6 f.; and the aim of the Letter and of the prayers of Epaphras is their abiding, grounded and stedfast, 1, 23; 4, 12. In Ephesians, since it is a circular letter, the references are naturally less concrete, but no less positive, 1, 1.15; 2, 5 f. 19; 4, 20; and the pervading devotional spirit presupposes the fullest sympathy of the readers with his teachings and exhortations. The Philippians are his 'joy and crown,' evoking his thanksgiving for their fellowship, in the Gospel; cp. also, 1, 26 f.; 2, 12–18; 4, 10 f. We notice also that the readers of the three Epistles are already acquainted with the false teachings which are combatted. The swift allusions and the compressed descriptions of them, point to the readers' familiarity with them. We may recognize the controlling features and the developments of these teachings in the structure and interests of the main divisions of the Letters: the introductory prayers, the sections of positive doctrinal statement, the direct attack upon the errorists, and the resulting sections of practical exhortation.

That among the aims of establishing these readers was that of warding off the claims of teachers offering gnosis or a superior gnosis, can be concluded not only from the definite allusions to them in the later sections of the Epistles, but also from the significantly elaborated prayers for the readers' development in gnosis. These prayers enable us to recognize more clearly the predominant function assigned to gnosis by the errorists, in view of the Apostle's carefully contrasted correlation of it with the other elements of the Christian life. In I and II Thess. his prayers were simply for his converts' development in faith, love and hope, I Thess. 3, 10; II Thess. 1, 11.12. With increasing information of the gnosticizing movement, his thanksgiving in I Cor. is that his own converts have been enriched in all utterance and in all gnosis; and this, definitely, as the issue of their confirmation, βεβαίωσις, viz., of faith in his Gospel witness of Christ and in expectation of his coming apocalypse in glory. In place of prayer, is his assurance that God will confirm them blameless, in a life of holy love, until that Day of the Lord. As the continuation of the correspondence, the devotional introduction of II Cor. is one

of thanksgiving for their renewed loyalty; while in Romans his prayer is for a visit to them in order to share on the basis of their faith, some spiritual gift; and his concluding wish, 16, 19, is that they may be wise as to the good and innocent as to the evil.

But now in Colossians, issuing from thanksgiving for their faith, love and hope, is definitely a long prayer concerning gnosis in a series of interwoven clauses. These assert the readers' real possession of epignosis of God's will as the result of the Pauline preaching and teaching through Ephaphras; their true and complete development will be by means of it, in all spiritual wisdom, *σοφία*, 'to apprehend God's verities, and in all intelligence, *σύνεσις*, to follow his processes'; the purpose of this gnosis is to lead to the moral walk worthy of the Lord and approved by him; and the increase in the enlightenment of this epignosis of God, with the accompanying increase in all *δύναμις* from the might of the divine glory is fitting them for their inheritance among the saints in the kingdom of light. In this way the gnosis in vss. 9–12 is guardedly linked in closest relations with the faith, the moral walk in love, the eschatological hope and the fellowship, which are based, vss. 3–8, on the Apostolic tradition of the word of truth in the Gospel; on the epignosis of the grace of God in truth.

In Ephesians likewise the opening doxology interweaves among every spiritual blessing in the heavenlies in Christ, the wealth of the divine grace abounding towards us in the enlightment of gnosis in all wisdom and discernment. Again on the basis of their faith, love and hope resting, 1, 13 f., as in Colossians on the Apostolic tradition of the word of truth, the gospel of their salvation, he prays, vs. 15 ff., that they may receive the gift of a spirit of wisdom and revelation in the epignosis of God, which will not only enlighten their hearts concerning the Christian hope and the wealth of glory of fellowship of the inheritance, but also concerning the exceeding greatness of the divine *δύναμις* to us-wards who believe. And he resumes in 3, 14 his prayer that they may have the gift of *δύναμις* from the Father through the Spirit: the indwelling of Christ through faith; that thus rooted in love they may be enabled to know with all saints the love of Christ surpassing gnosis, and be filled unto all the fullness of God. Here too in Ephesians he can both confidently claim for his ministry and for his converts the fullness of gnosis; and also duly assign its function in the de-

velopment of Christian life. In the remaining Epistle also his prayer for the Philippians, is based on their fellowship in the furtherance of the Gospel, and gnosis is again discriminatingly coordinated with Christian growth; it is that their love may abound in epignosis and in all αἴσθησις, 'perception, in practical applications'; that so they may approve the things morally excellent; may be sincere and void of offense until the Day of Christ, being then found filled with the fruit of righteousness. Thus, in all three Epistles, cp. also Philemon, vs. 6, gnosis instead of being the essential and constitutive principle of the Gospel, or as divorcing us from moral obligations, or as supplanting the primitive echatology, is seen in these prayers as in I Cor. to be a subordinate principle of light and power by which love, the outgrowth of faith, manifests itself in every good work under the inspiration of the Christian hope.

The familiarity of the readers with a gnosis which is the antithesis of the gnosis in Paul's prayers, is also indicated in all three letters by the Apostle's developed restatement of the content of the gnosis which he preached and which they had received. At the conclusion of this positive statement of it in Col., he terms it 'the epignosis of the mystery of God, even Christ.' Lightfoot long ago recognized that the term 'mystery' was probably appropriated from its use by gnostics. It could be conceived as expressing their claim to an esoteric knowledge by means of visions and revelations of all mysteries, I Cor. 13, 2; II Cor. 12, 1, and of their power by imparting it to make their initiates τέλειοι.[33] In opposition to this claim, just as he had emphasized that all Christians had a gift of gnosis, so now the Apostle asserts that his Gospel was itself a revelation to all believers, of the supreme mystery of God. This had been hidden in God from eternal ages; but now in his own seasons, in a dispensation belonging to the fullness of the times, it has been revealed in the preaching of the Gospel with which Paul and the holy Apostles and Prophets have been intrusted. It is therefore a mystery divinely revealed in the Spirit, and revealed

[33] Robinson's argument, *Ephesians*, p. 30 f.; 234 ff., that the currency of the word mystery in common parlance and in Jewish Apocolyptic in the colorless sense of a secret of any kind, makes improbable Paul's adoption of it from the terminology of the mystery religions, does not meet the point that he could have adopted it from the errorists' appropriation of it from those cults.

universally in the Apostolic preaching and teaching ministry to every man, in all wisdom, that thereby every man may be presented perfect, τέλειος in Christ. This vindication of a universal revelation in the Gospel of the supreme mystery, is made not only in this group of letters, Col. 1, 25 ff.; Ephes. 1, 9; 3, 2 ff.; but earlier, I Cor. 2, 6 ff.; and probably vs. 1; II Cor. 4, 3–6; Rom. 16, 25; and later in Tit. 1, 2 f.; cp. also I Pet. 1, 10 ff. and the basis of this teaching in Mk. 4, 22 and parallels.

The content of this revealed mystery is, however, not merely as defined in most of the commentaries, the admission of the Gentiles and their full fellowship in the Church. That is an essential element in it. It is naturally duly emphasized by the Apostle who was the principal organ of its communication and administration, and who was called upon to vindicate it against its Judaizing opponents. Yet Paul's own most comprehensive description of the mystery is 'the mystery of God,' the mystery of his will made known according to his redemptive purpose, Col. 2, 2; Eph. 1, 9, cp. Rev. 10, 7. As its revelation, the illumination of the gnosis of the glory of God, is in the face of Christ the image of God, II Cor. 4. 6, the Apostle can speak in Col. 2, 2, of the mystery of God, even Christ; and in Eph. 3, 4, of the mystery of Christ; or of the gospel preaching, as speaking the mystery of Christ, Col. 4, 3, and as making known the mystery of the Gospel, Eph. 6, 19. Its Apostolic preachers being, I Cor. 4, 1, ministers of Christ and therefore stewards of the mysteries of God, their ministry would include revelation of definite elements in the supreme mystery. Such as are referred to are connected with the concluding realization of the divine purpose: the restoration of Israel when the times of the Gentiles shall come in, Rom. 11, 25 ff.; the transformation of the living at the Parousia, I Cor. 15, 51. Especially is the union of Jew and Gentile in the Church, emphasized as a revealed mystery, Col. 1, 26 f.; Eph. 3, 4 ff. The consummation of this union, cp. Rom. 11, 26 and vs. 15, belongs, however, to the 'seasons of refreshing from the presence of the Lord and the times of restoration of all things,' Acts 3, 19 f.; when the mystery of God purposing to sum up all things in Christ, Eph. 1, 10, is accomplished.

But while this is the τέλος, the end when Christ shall deliver up the Kingdom to God, I Cor. 15, 24, cp. Eph. 5, 27, and is the accomplishment of the mystery of God, Rev. 10, 7, yet this final

purpose and goal is not the complete revealed mystery, which is nothing less than God's revelation of himself in the person and redemption of Christ. When in Eph. 3, 3, Paul refers his readers to his statement of Christ's reconciliation of Jew and Gentile in one body to God, 2, 11–22, as evidence that the mystery was made known to him, he adds that he has written only ἐν ὀλίγῳ, briefly and in part, of the mystery of God he has already in 1, 3–14 viewed from before the foundation of the world until the summing up of all things in Christ. And further in 3, 4–12, he speaks of the Gentiles being coheirs, not as a complete statement of the mystery of Christ, but as a means whereby his readers may perceive his σύνεσις, his 'apprehension of the bearings' of that mystery. His administration of this definite revealed mystery will make known to heavenly principalities through the Church uniting in one body Jew and Gentile, the new glories of the richly varied wisdom of God according to his eternal purpose in Christ Jesus our Lord. Similarly in the Colossian parallel 1, 25 ff., the whole Gospel, the Word of God, the revelation of God in Christ, is the mystery in its fullness. Its revelation to the saints included the definite revelation, especially through Paul, of the wealth of the glory of this mystery among the Gentiles, which is 'Christ in you' the hope of glory; but in 2, 2, the whole wealth of the full assurance of understanding, σύνεσις, is the epignosis of the mystery of God, even Christ in whom are all the treasurers of sophia and gnosis, hidden, but accessible to those in Christ.

It is this fuller presentation of the mystery which is given in Col. 1, 12–2, 3, as the basis from which the attack on the whole line of the errorists' position is pressed. So distinctly is it framed and expressed for this purpose that it led Baur, *Paul*, II, 1–45, to the view that it betrayed a reference to second-century gnosticism and thus proved the Epistle not to be genuine. For similar reasons Pfleiderer, *Urchstnm.*, I, 187–191, II, 210–226, regards Colossians as a second-century antignostic-gnosticizing redaction of a Pauline original. But the present recognition of its genuineness carries with it Paul's acquaintance at this period, with the already emerging issues of the gnostics' attempt to amalgamate their cosmological speculations and redemptive theories with the Christian faith. Keeping in mind therefore that the section 1, 12 ff. grows out of the prayer for gnosis without transition, and that at its conclusion

it is said to be written to guard against the false teachers who are then directly attacked, we find in the section the Apostle's positive revelation of the mystery of God.

The section is essentially christological; and therefore the work and person of Christ is presented as a revelation and accomplishment of the Father's eternal redemptive purpose. In opposition to any system of mediating æons, to dualistic theories of evil powers of darkness, or to gradual ascent to the divine through gnostic revelations and observances, Paul declares that the Father himself has already made us competent for sharing the inheritance of the saints in light; has already delivered us from the power of darkness by translating us into the Kingdom of the Son of his love: the Kingdom in which we already possess redemption and freedom, in our forgiveness and mystic union with the redeeming Son. His sole lordship in this Kingdom and his redeeming power rests next on the revealed mystery of his person. He is in relation to God, the εἰκών, the perfect representation of the invisible God; and therefore the whole revelation of God is already complete in him, the preëxistent Son, cp. Hbws. 1, 1 ff. In his relation to the universe, in antithesis to any gnostic cosmology of a creation by an inferior demiurge or emanations, in order to explain the existence of evil on dualistic principles, Christ is the first born, 'the absolute heir and sovereign Lord' of all creation. For he is himself the creator, sustainer, life and goal of the visible and invisible universe and of any conceivable orders of existence in the gnostic series of angelic mediators. And in contrast to their speculations concerning man and his salvation and perfection, the εἰκών and Son is likewise the head of the body, the Church; being, in contradiction to their denials of resurrection, the first born and first fruits of resurrection from the dead; the power of his resurrection being the ἀρχή, the abiding source and principle of the life of his Church. His sole lordship in all worlds, his πρωτεύειν, is based on the truth that the whole pleroma, 'the totality of divine powers and attributes,' in distinction from gnostic teachings, dwelt permanently in him, with the eternal purpose that in him God might reconcile the universe unto himself.[34] Against the denials of a real incarnation and re-

[34] Holtzmann, *N. T. Theologie*, I, 480 f., II, 240 ff., who regards Col. and Eph. as Deutero-Pauline, states: 'The influence of gnosis and also the direct point of the polemic against it, becomes most clear in the view of our Epistles

demptive death, on docetic and dualistic principles, he adds with unmistakable definiteness that the Son's universal reconciliation was affected in his body, the body of his flesh, by death, by the blood of his cross.

That this section of positive doctrinal statement is framed to repel false teachings is distinctly stated in introducing the section, 2, 4–3, 4, in which the false teachers are now directly attacked and definite tenets and tendencies of their system are specifically repudiated. It is usually the main source for determining the nature of the Colossian opposition and its later developments. In regard to the description of the errorists, it is evident from the references to Jewish institutions that they are Jews. That they, however, are not judaizers is very generally recognized, since the Jewish topics are not treated from the standpoint of Paul's anti-judaistic polemic; the prohibitions of 2, 16 ff., exceed the Mosaic prescriptions; and the references to philosophy, wisdom and gnosis, show that the movement comes from a different quarter, cp. Dibelius, *Geisterwelt*, u. s. w., p. 153. The various theories as to what other than a judaizing source the Jewish Christian false teaching can be assigned, are listed in the Meyer commentary, Dibelius as above, cp. also his commentary in Lietzmann's *Handbuch z. N. T.*, 85 f., and in Moffatt, *Introd.*, 153. Dibelius concludes that 'if we attempt to give the child a name, we can speak of a parallel to the mysteries, a forerunner of gnostic tendencies on Jewish Christian soil.' Moffatt, p. 152, recognizes in it semi-gnostic tendencies; but agreeing with Dibelius and others, finds in it indications of a local phase of some syncretistic

concerning the pleroma. This, p. 480, formed 'in contrast to the lower, void world a supersensual realm of the godhead, in which the forms of dazzling light, of its æons and syzygies, *i. e.*, æon-pairs, bring life, movement and organization in the repose of the Godhead.' In these Epistles, p. 481, 'that which was for the gnostics made up of a motley multiplicity of ranks of spirits, of an extended series of æons, is here claimed to be organically summed up in the One Christ as the concrete central point of the realm of spirits.' Similarly Pfleiderer, *Urchristm.*, II, p. 216: 'The church teacher could not combat more simply the gnostic syncretism which made Christ one of the many spiritual beings, *i. e.*, æons, of the pleroma, than in expressly emphasizing that the whole pleroma dwells in Christ, and indeed bodily; that is, that the person of the historical Saviour is the embodiment, the totality, the sole vehicle and mediator of all divine powers of life and salvation, from the beginning.'

theosophy blending disparate elements rife within the popular religion of Phrygia, with practices current among Jewish circles sensitive to semi-Alexandrian influences. But since its teachers had a footing within the Christian Church, or with Dibelius, p. 153, were 'von Haus aus' Christians, the above description would seem in itself to point to a definitely gnostic movement. The hesitation of these scholars to pronounce the Colossian errorists to be gnostics may be justified when the construction of their position is made principally from this section of direct attack, 2^{4}–3^{4}. But when this section is taken in connection with the prayer for gnosis and the succeeding antignostic doctrinal statement in this Colossian Letter; and also with the three similar sections in the other two Letters of the group; and further with the characteristics of the opponents which we have presented from the earlier Letters, we can clearly recognize in the Colossian false teaching a definite gnostic system, and of far wider sweep than that of an ellipse, to use Dibelius' figure, having angel worship and asceticism as its foci.

Turning to the features specially emphasized in this polemic section, the opposing system is at once contrasted generally with the revelation of God in Christ proclaimed universally in the Gospel tradition of Apostolic preaching; and it is pronounced to be but a philosophy and vain deceit according to the tradition of men. It is not according to Christ, as he is presented in the mystery of God in Christ, 1, 13 ff., but according to the stoicheia of the cosmos, the ruling cosmical powers, the bearers of the pleroma, cp. I Cor. 2, 6 ff. The two systems are next contrasted in the definite teachings as to Christ's person and work and as to the means and result of the believer's appropriation of his redemption: in 2, 9.10 in connection with Christ and the pleroma, and also in connection with the perfection and fulfillment of Christians by mystic union with him, ἐστὲ ἐν αὐτῷ πεπληρωμένοι. Summing up 1, 13 ff., and in antithesis to the errorists' human tradition, kabbala and speculative cosmology and angelology, the whole pleroma is again affirmed to dwell permanently in Christ; and is now said to dwell bodily, and, therefore, in Christ really incarnate. And further, redemption and victory over the powers of evil is won by the heavenly Christ, crucified, buried and risen. By direct mystic union with the heavenly, dying and rising Christ, is our

forgiveness and our perfection. In him we are 'filled full.' We are in him, moreover, not by means of a bodily circumcision but by the circumcision of Christ: a baptismal death and resurrection with him into a new covenant union of our lives now hidden with the Christ in God, but to be manifested in glory at Christ's manifestation at the Parousia, 3, 4.

Not only is this last assurance directed against the prevailing gnostic denial of the general resurrection, but the emphasis throughout the section on our present mystical union that is to be consummated by 'perfecting,' cp. 1, 28, is in antithesis to the opponents' system of perfection. What stress was laid by them on circumcision, and what was its import in their system, cannot be determined. Whatever attitude Jewish false teachers might take concerning the Mosaic law, the pre-Mosaic institutions of Sabbath and circumcision were distinguishing marks of their Jewish standing, and could be expected to have a place in a system of any Jewish character. More clearly appears in this section their method of perfection by gnosis, whose enlightenment and power came by means of boasted visions. These, cp. Dibelius, p. 153, may be the method of communication with the elemental ruling stoicheia of the cosmos, and be the basis of the tradition and empty deceit, 2, 8, to no purpose puffing them up by the *νοῦς* of the flesh. Instead of perfecting growth in fellowship with the Church's communion with Christ the head, this system of the false teachers was an *ἐθελοθρησκεία* a self-invented individual service, a self-imposed humility expressed in the worship of subordinate angelic bearers of the pleroma, in order to share their power for the ascent of the soul from the evil creation. Zahn's contention renewing Ewald's view, that this worship is not offered to angels, but is the worship which the angels offer, seems disproved by the fact that in the Wisdom of Solomon, *θρησκεία* is always followed by the objective genitive. Yet it may be possible that objective worship of angels would lead to an ideal of a life of abstinence from foods, drink and marriage, like that of angels. In any case the outcome of the volunteered worship was an ascetic system and a ritual observance of days. In this, as based on their empty speculations and dualism, the Apostle sees a return to the principle of legalism as opposed to the freedom of the Spirit. And it evokes a renewal in 2, 14 ff. of the gospel of

freedom from 'the bond in ordinances' that was blotted out on the Redeemer's cross and in his absolute triumph there over the powers of evil. The religious discipline of prescriptions and ceremonial observances was but a shadow of the religion of free obedience and worship in the Spirit, an outline of the body and reality of the spiritual religion of the Christ who was to come.

In the conclusion of the section, vss. 20–23, the outcome of this system of perfection by ascetic observances such as 2, 21, abstinence from specific food, or possibly from flesh, wine and marriage, is declared to be 'the full satisfaction of the flesh.' All commentators note the obscurity of the grammatical and exegetical connection of this phrase with the preceding series of parenthetical clauses intermingling compressed statement and swift repudiation of the opposing system. Adopting the construction of von Soden we can regard the phrase as the Apostle's exposure of satisfaction of the lowest side of human nature as the real result of the boasted λόγος σοφίας; and even more definitely, we may consider πλησμονὴ τῆς σαρκός as the final contrast to the initial Pauline declaration 2, 10 ἐστὲ ἐν αὐτῷ πεπληρωμένοι. Combining the references to the errorists' system of perfection, we find that it is presented, 2, 4, as before in I Cor. 2, 4 and Rom. 16, 18, in persuasiveness of speech, though in 2, 8 and 18 they make spoil of believers in robbing them of, or in deciding against their attainment of, the prize of their high calling by means of their present union with the fullness of Christ. Their system is opposed as being only a human tradition and speculation resting on the assumption that Christians are still living in a cosmos ruled by the stoicheia of the cosmos. It is, therefore, a denial of Christ's victory over these powers, and of the freedom of the Spirit won for us in his redemptive death. Their rules for perfection by ascetic practices are directly opposed to Christ's teaching concerning foods in Mk. 7, 18 ff. Their gnosis is not a divine spiritual enlightenment, but a puffing up by the νοῦς of the flesh and rests on empty boasts of visions and communications with elemental world-rulers. It is besides a gnosis which bestows no real spiritual power. It has only a repute of wisdom, λόγον, οὐ δύναμιν, Chrysostom, on the basis of self-imposed worship and humility, and of unsparing treatment of the body. The only honor which the observance of their precepts brings, is 'such as satisfied the carnal nature;

ἀφειδία σώματος was in very truth πλησμονὴ τῆς σαρκός, Abbott, with Von Soden.

The 'enigmatic brevity' of the collocation of 'severity to the body' and 'full satisfaction of the flesh' recalls the constant two-fold tendency of gnostic ethics resting on the conception of matter as the principle of evil: either to a rigorous repression of bodily life as interfering with perfection of the spirit, or to indifference to the satisfaction of its impulses, since they are without spiritual significance. In the earlier Epistles the gnosticizing movement is characterized by this latter libertine indifference; here in Colossians the errorists are unmistakably ascetics. Yet in spite of this contrast they belong to the same movement, in view both of the controlling common features we have recognized, and also in view of the same contrast of asceticism and libertinism represented in the later divisions found in the hydra-headed system of second-century gnosticism. The Colossian errorists might, therefore, be considered a special group or as advocating a special phase of the system. But the statement that severity to the body is 'for' full satisfaction of the flesh, coupled with the fact that repudiation of the asceticism of 2, 20–23 is immediately followed 3, 5 ff. by exhortations against sensual indulgence reveals a closer relation between gnostic asceticism and licentiousness than simply that of two subdivisions of a general movement. In some way which it may not now be possible to determine satisfactorily, but which the data of Colossians and of earlier and later Epistles suggest, the principle and the actual practice of spurious asceticism tended ultimately to immorality. In I Thess. 4, 4, and I Cor. 6 and 7 the occasion of combining injunctions against fornication with commands to enter into and maintain marriage relations, is found in the whole contexts to be more than the need of counsel as to the means of escaping temptation to impurity. The passages seem to assume and to reply to a theory of disparagement of marriage which was held in conjunction with indifference to 'full satisfaction of the flesh.' Similarly in the later description of the errorists in I Tim. 4, 1 ff., abstinence from foods and marriage is an outstanding feature of the antinomian immorality combatted in the Pastorals. Such a relation of false asceticism and libertinism could be variously conceived as that of reaction under inability to bear the self-imposed strain; or possibly as that of separate

standards for distinct classes of psychics and pneumatics; or more probably the combination was due to some sophistry, cp. 'knowing the depths of Satan,' Rev. 2, 24, by which indulgence was made compatible with the claim of the enlightened spirit's conquest of the bodily nature.

The closing section of exhortation, 3, 1–4, 6, presents in contrast to this gnostic system of perfection and its failure to reach it, the Christian goal, pathway and power. Not by spurious ascetic severity to the body but in mystic union with the risen Christ who died unto sin, may the Colossians kill out all carnal affections, 3, 1–7; may put off the sins, vss. 8–11, causing divisions; and in contrast to the divisive spirit of the false teachers, may put on the new man renewed unto epignosis of the Creator, in which life of spiritual renewal all divisions disappear in Christ who is all in all. Positively this life of fellowship is to be developed not by self-imposed worship and humility, but by the Christian graces of mutual love, with the peace of Christ ruling in their hearts; in the worship of his Church; in due subordination within the home; and in a walk in wisdom towards those who are without, in final contrast to the errorists' false spirit of emancipation from authority.

This Epistle attacking the whole system and practice of gnostics whose activity has been reported in the promising field of a Pauline church amid a variety of syncretistic cults, was naturally needed in the adjacent church of Laodicea. It is, therefore, to be sent thither also, 4, 16. From thence, moreover, the Colossians are to receive an additional Letter of Paul, which will supplement the Letter sent directly to them. The acceptance of Ephesians as genuine commonly leads to the view here adopted, that it is the companion letter referred to. In this case we should expect to find in it a similar interest in guarding against gnostic teaching. The method of such defense is, however, necessarily affected by the fact that it is an encyclical addressed to the churches widely scattered throughout the Province of Asia. In their differing religious situations and in the varied methods and stages of gnostic activity among them, the Apostle's treatment of it in Ephesians must naturally be of a more general character than in his Letter to the single Church in Colosse. Hence also the fundamental elements of Christian truth and life directly exposed

to gnostic perversion, must be most positively emphasized as the safeguard against their attack on the faith, hope, morality, order and unity of the Churches. But as a supplement to Colossians, it must also have a special feature guarding all the Asian churches from gnostic influence; and at the same time a feature not already developed in Colossians. This is found to be its teaching concerning the Church and its unity. It is presented both in closest relation to the doctrinal and practical teaching of the two Epistles; and also, as definitely, as a bulwark against the separatist spirit and disruptive tendency of the gnostic propaganda. In Col. we have only the statements: 1, 18 Christ is the head of the Body, the Church; and in 2, 19 the antithesis to the self-imposed worship of the errorists, is the whole Body holding fast the Head and supplied and knit together by the joints and bands. Upon reading Ephesians, the Colossians will receive the supplementing development of these summary statements. And they will in addition find it a counterpart of his direct rebuttal of false doctrine in their own Epistle, in its devotional strains of positive exposition of Gospel truth and life to enable all the churches of Asia to withstand the wiles of the error.

Against the usual denial of a controversial element in Ephesians, Weinel, *Bib. Theol.* 438, recognizes that 'in Ephesians also, the author contends against gnostics who excite distractions in the churches, 4, 14; and that against them he advocates the same doctrines as those of Colossians.' In agreement with this, we have previously noticed the similarity of the general structure of both Epistles in their common emphasis on Christian gnosis in the prayers, and in the positive content of this gnosis in the revelation of the mystery of God in Christ. We may further remark that Ephesians in its prayer supplements Colossians by a more definite reference to the 'power' as well as to the enlightment of Christian gnosis. The boast of the errorists to be alone the δυνατοί, is silenced by the Apostle's confident prayers, in 1, 19, that the spiritual enlightenment of his readers in the epignosis of God will include a knowledge of the exceeding greatness of his power to us-ward who believe, according to the working of the strength of his might; in 3, 14–21, that by the gift of this fourfold divine power, in the indwelling of the Christ, they may know the love of Christ which passes gnosis, that they may be filled full unto all the

pleroma of God; and he closes his Letter with the exhortation thus to be strong in the Lord and in the power of his might by putting on the whole armor of God. This prayer for power is besides the climax of the prayer 1, 18 for gnosis of the Christian eschatology rejected by the errorists: that they may know what is the hope of God's calling and what the riches of the glory of his inheritance among the saints. This hope and inheritance rests, vs. 20, as in I Thess. 4, 13 ff.; I Cor. 15, 20 ff., on God's resurrection and heavenly exaltation of the dead Christ, with whom we are in direct union by spiritual resurrection with him, 2, 6; and we have now the gift of the Spirit, 1, 14, as the earnest of the glory of the inheritance still awaiting us.

Surveying the positive doctrinal statements, we mark that the antignostic christology of Colossians is expressed devotionally in the opening doxology: the preëxistence of Christ; the Father's eternal purpose to gather up in one, the incarnate redeeming and glorified Messiah, in the fullness of the times, the heavenly and the earthly universe. Hence 1, 20 ff. as in Colossians his supremacy over every conceivable order of angels, over the worlds of nature, over the Church of humanity redeemed in him its head and sole source of life and growth. This redemption, freedom and universal salvation is 2, 1 ff., as in Col. 1, 20–23 against opposing teaching, already won by his death and resurrection. And again docetic denials of his incarnation and passion are repelled by the emphasis on this redemption in his flesh, by the Cross and in the blood of the Christ; while the appropriation of the redemption by mystic union with him is declared in the recurring characteristic phrase ἐν Χριστῷ.

Supplementary to these common doctrinal features of the two Epistles is the special emphasis on the Church and its unity, 2, 11–22; 3, 6 ff. The earlier Epistles are found to have the same interest in this goal of a divinely effected human fellowship and brotherhood in a common faith, life, order and work, which the divisive spirit of the gnostic movement constantly endangered. This unity is here viewed as effected upon the removal, by Christ's redemptive death, of the fundamental division of humanity into Jew and Gentile, who both have now their direct access by Christ in one Spirit unto the Father. It is further, in contrast to the gnostic system based on empty visions, a union of men in one

Church and Temple of God which has been both revealed to Apostles and prophets, 3, 5, in the mystery of God, and is also, 2, 20 ff., founded and built upon the Gospel tradition and ministry of these Apostles and prophets. The opening section of the succeeding exhortation, 4, 1–16, manifests Paul's interest in warding off the disruptive influences of gnostic propaganda within this Church, by his calls to zealous preservation of the sevenfold unity of the one Body, vs. 5 f., of which Christ is the head, 16 f., and which grows by means of his gifts of ministry, 7 ff., for its upbuilding, until we all come in the unity of the faith and of the epignosis of the Son of God unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of the Christ.

Paul's antithetic reference in this section to gnostic repudiation of the authority and function of the Church's fellowship and ministry, is evident from his insertion of a description of his opponents in vs. 14. It has the central position among the contrasted clauses of the single sentence of six verses, 11–16, concerning the Church and ministry, in which too he deals with several characteristic gnostic terms. The disruptive activity of the opponents is in contrast to that of the Church's ministry, vss. 12.13, for the perfecting-joining together of the saints and the building up of the Body of Christ, cp. II Cor. 13, 10; in contrast also to the still unattained goal: the 'oneness' that comes from the faith and epignosis of the Son of God, the τέλειος ἀνήρ, the measure of the mature stature of the pleroma of Christ. In spite of their boasted offers of perfection, they and their followers are really νήπιοι, immature and with no means of growth. The effect of the false teaching is unsettlement and disruption, instead of the unity and upbuilding on the immovable foundation, Col. 1, 23; 2, 7. Using the figure with which the Sermon on the Mount closes, they are wave-tossed and wind-driven by the teaching which is not only 'of men' cp. Col. 2, 8, but in the 'sleight' of men: the gamester's artifice in casting or upturning the dice fraudulently, ut semper appareat quod ipsi placet, Bengel; or as in the parallel II Cor. 4, 2, δολοῦντες, corrupting the word of God. The mode of teaching, as constantly in his allusions to it, is in craftiness with a view to the perversion of the Error.[35] It is the opposite of the

[35] Μεθοδία a word found only here and in 6, 11 is not μέθοδος, the system of error or the wily method of the Devil; but following the most common use

Gospel manifestation of the truth both in teaching and in a moral life of love, which is the one pathway of growth unto maturity and perfection; unto Christ the head, as members of the one Body of Christ, vs. 12, 'fitly framed together and compacted by every joint of supply' of the one Spirit of Christ through his gifts of grace, vs. 7, in the fellowship and ministry of his Church, vss. 7–11.

Proceeding to other topics of exhortation selected from the primitive instruction in which they learned Christ, and specifically in contradiction of docetism, 'as he is in truth in Jesus' W. H. mg., he first warns 4, 25–5, 2, in the interest of unity and as being members one of another, against sins leading to divisions and thwarting upbuilding. With the following exhortation against sins of impurity, 5, 3–14, is the warning concerning deception as to their sinfulness and punishment. It is a deception wrought through empty discourses, vs. 6, of libertine teachers, who as 'sons of disobedience' assert on principle their emancipation from authority even in the sphere of morals, and whose acts in secret it is disgraceful to relate. These charges could not be made against Jewish or judaizing opponents. Nor can the reference be to heathen immorality, which he had already described in 4, 17 ff. in different terms, and which his readers had definitively renounced. Since then their fellowship with the sons of disobedience, 5, 7, is a present danger, and from no other assignable source, we are led to conclude that these deceivers of vs. 6 are

of μετά in composition to express reversal and transmutation, signifies the perversions and reversals of the truth by the false teachers. So Lightfoot decides in his comment on Polycarp, *Philippians*, 7. But even more definitely it seems to refer to perversion of the moral teaching of the Way. For on the one hand Polycarp uses the verb in this technical reference to perverted moral doctrine and practice, in his fourfold description of the errorist who confesses not the incarnation and the atonement; and who μεθοδεύῃ τὰ λόγια τοῦ Κυρίου πρὸς τὰς ἰδίας ἐπιθυμίας, and says there is neither resurrection nor judgment. On the other hand, the exhortations on moral topics of the didache in Ephes. 4, 17–6, 9 are both introduced and concluded by the warnings against μεθοδία in 4, 14 and 6, 11. In II Sam. 19, 27 the LXX uses the verb to express the perversion of the truth by the statement of 16, 3. If this suggestion that the reference in Ephesians is to perversion of the Way of the didache is tenable, μεθοδία τῆς πλάνης would have a parallel in Hbws. 13, 9: διδαχαῖς ποικίλαις καὶ ξέναις, where ποικίλος could have its frequent meaning of change.

the libertines of the earlier Epistles and the false teachers of 4, 14.

Thus, as is often recognized, the warnings in Ephesians are directed against gnostic libertinism, while Colossians warns directly of its spurious asceticism. Yet in Colosse where this phase of the error was in the forefront, it was related to 'full satisfaction of the flesh' as its ultimate issue. In Ephesians, addressed to the whole group of Asian churches, this outcome and general feature of libertinism would naturally be selected for warning. But the Colossian polemic against asceticism is not entirely without parallel, even in Ephesians. Here we meet, 5, 25–33, with an extended vindication of the holiness of marriage as divinely instituted and as pointing in its unity to the absolute union of Christ and his Church. In the absence of any neglect or disparagement of marriage by Jews, judaizers or Gentile converts, such an elaborated defense implies a detraction of the institution which could be assigned to some group of ascetic Jewish gnostics, as in Colosse, misinterpreting on dualistic principles and by allegorizing, the opening chapters of Genesis to whose definite statements the Apostle appeals. His repetition in this connection of the figure of Christ as the head of the Church and Saviour of the body, links this vindication of marriage with his exposure of the teaching of error in 4, 12 ff. We may notice also that the teaching concerning marriage is part of the exhortation to subordination in the household, checking as in Colossians the errorists' false spirit of emancipation from authority.

The Colossian readers of this Epistle would therefore find in it a supplement to Paul's polemic against gnostic teaching in his Letter to themselves. Philippians written probably shortly after, contains along with other features a polemic against the same type of error. As in the two Epistles just examined, the references to it are constructed in the same method: in the prayer for true gnosis, which we have already considered; in the positive christological statement; and in the description of the false teachers accompanying the direct warning against them.

The doctrinal statement grows out of the controlling interest of the Letter in the unity and fellowship of this church which is his joy and crown. He had no fear that external persecution, 1, 27–30, would weaken this unity. His prayer and anticipation was that

they were meeting it by standing in one spirit, with one soul striving together for the faith of the Gospel. His joy would be be fulfilled, 2, 1 ff., if in their internal church life they would be of the same mind and love, of one mind, of Christ's mind. The possible dangers to such a unity being faction and eagerness for empty glory, he exhorts to an unselfish unity by the example of Christ. The profundity and fullness of its dogmatic statement reflect his interest in safeguarding them from a false christology based on κενοδοξία and issuing in a divisive spirit of faction. Parallel to the revelations of the mystery of God in Christ, in the two preceding Epistles, its positive statements are at the same time denials of fundamental errors concerning Christ with which we have already met. Against those who divided the Christ or reduced the heavenly Christ to a rank among the celestial orders, it declares that Christ Jesus subsisted in the form of God and emtied himself of the glorious mode of existence on an equality with God. His real incarnation is included in the statement that he took the form, μορφή, of a servant. And any special docetic theory of the union of the Christ and Jesus only from the baptism and until before the passion, is repelled, since the form of a servant was taken when he came into existence in the likeness of men, and was continued even to death, yea the death of the cross. His exaltation by the Father above every name, as in Eph. 1, 21 and Col. 2, 10, follows upon his humbling himself, when 'in fashion as a man' he became obedient, even unto death. The homage of the celestial, terrestrial and subterrestrial worlds in is the human name of Jesus: in the confession, cp. I Cor. 12, 3; Rom. 10, 9, Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός.

The probability that these doctrinal emphases were in view of an opposing system is strengthened by the special reference to ἁρπαγμός. We are not here concerned with the extended discussions of this term and with the various renderings of vss. 6.7: whether with Gifford 'glory and majesty with God was not deemed a prize to be held fast'; or as in the A. V., was not thought a robbery or usurpation; or with Dibelius, as a spoil to be seized. The humiliation of Christ was expressed in the non-polemic passage, II Cor. 8, 9, in the simple statement, 'being rich, he for your sakes became poor.' The fact, however, that here he uses this unique form of expression, not tenaciously grasping a prize, or not re-

garding its retention as an usurpation, or not striving to obtain it by force, suggests that its peculiar use especially in its connection with the other safeguarding statements of the section, was in antithesis to a christology in which some such view was involved.[36]

In addition to the prayer for true gnosis and the christological statement which seems framed to guard against a disrupting system, we have as in the two earlier Epistles of the group, a direct description of the errorists in chapter 3. Most commonly they have been adjudged to be Judaizers. Dibelius on the contrary represents the view that they are Jewish agitators. Moffatt more generally considers them to be Jews or Jewish Christian agitators. Bacon, *Paul*, 368 ff., sees in them a type of Judaizers yet distinct from those in Galatians, and he points out their resemblances to the errorists in Ephesians and Colossians. While Zahn restricted the legalistic references to Judaizers to vss. 2–16 and referred the immorality of vss. 17 ff. to Philippian Christians, Lightfoot found in the two sections of the chapter two distinct groups of errorists, Judaizers and libertines. B. Weiss, *Phpbf.* 221 ff., following some much earlier critics recognizes three groups in the three epithets of vs. 2, the counterparts of those who rejoice in the Lord. The Dogs are immoral heathen; the Evil Workers are teachers with unworthy and selfish motives, such as the Roman clergy in 1, 15 ff.; the Concision are unbelieving Jews, not Judaizers.

We find, however, that in this chapter the Apostle has in mind but one set of opponents, and further we hold that the initial denunciations are against one and the same party. Their abruptness and incisiveness has been made possible, because they are summaries

[36] Among the conjectures attempting to account for the expression was Baur's *Paul*, II, 45 ff., that it betrayed the influence of the second-century Valentinian myth of Sophia striving to become one with the Father. But the failure of his attack upon the genuineness of the Epistle and his admission that the reference of the gnostic myth to Christ in a moral sense, as in the text, is meaningless, led to the rejection of his theory. Pfleiderer, however, renews it, *Urchstm.*, I, 181.229, in regarding vss. 6.7 as a later interpolation based on the myth of Sophia or of the world-ruler Jaldabaoth's desire to displace the highest God. Dibelius, *Geisterwelt*, 105 f., rejects this in favor of some possible contrasted reference to the envy and strife of the spirits of the firmament described in the descent of Christ in *Ascensio Jesaiæ*, 10, 29 ff. Ernesti in his reply to Baur proposed the contrast of the first Adam attempting 'to be as Gods,' Gen. 2, 5 cp. 22.

of the Apostle's frequent earlier descriptions of those 'of whom he had told them often,' vs. 18. Since he had visited Philippi shortly after writing I Cor. and had probably written II Cor. there, and had revisited the Church immediately after writing Romans, it would evidently be the antinomian errorists of these Epistles of whom he had thus often spoken to the Philippians. The reference to Jews in the third epithet should not therefore mislead us to suppose that Paul would apply to them as such, the terms dogs and evil workers, or would apply them to judaizing Christians, who made up the Church of Palestine. Nor as Apostle of the heathen and here writing to heathen, would he speak of them as dogs. Its use here is based on its Jewish application to heathen on their idea of the repulsive, unclean associations of dogs as the symbol of abominable immorality. Paul's definite reference to 'the Dogs,' in connection with his following description, vss., 17 ff., of those who glory in their shame, alludes therefore to the libertinism of errorists well known to the Philippians. The same class is similarly denounced in the Pastorals as *βδελυκτοί*, Tit. 1, 16, foul and detestable. In the sin lists in Rev. the *ἐβδελυγμένοι* of 21, 8 and 27 seem to be those referred to as 'the dogs' of 22, 15; and to the antinomian libertines of II Pet. 2 is applied the proverb: the dog has returned to his own vomit.

The next term 'the evil workers,' passes from their immorality to their teaching. The Apostle could not refer to Jewish or judaistic obedience to the holy law as evil work. His own Jewish obedience is not described as evil but as blameless: it had been 'gain' but now is regarded as loss, but only in comparison with the excellency of the gnosis of Christ. Hence the evil workers of Philippians are not observers of the law, but as the deceitful workers of II Cor. 11, 13 are teachers fashioning themselves into apostles of Christ and ministers of righteousness. Dibelius regarding them as Jews adopts Bultmann's rendering, 'Werkhelden,' champions of works. But in all three of Paul's independent uses of the word, as the Lexicons exhibit, he refers to teachers: here and in II Cor. to false teachers, and in II Tim 2, 15 in contrast to them Timothy is to be *ἐργάτης ἀνεπαίσχυντος* by 'handling aright the word of truth.' The same usage and practically the same term, *ἐργάται ἀδικίας* in Luke, which the Syriac versions render 'workers of falsehood,' and *οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν ανομίαν* in Mtw. and

LXX, is applied to the false prophets and teachers in the Sermon on the Mount.

These immoral false teachers are further characterized as the κατατομή, whereby is fixed their Jewish provenance and boasts. This term, however, in its connection with the other two epithets, with the succeeding description of the opponents and with the situation of the Philippians, makes impossible a reference here to unbelieving Jews. Their presence in Philippi, or their propaganda there, is improbable in view of the antisemitism displayed against Paul himself in Acts 16, 20. Moreover, Jewish missionaries in the Dispersion would not emphasize as here, circumcision, but the usual topics to attract godfearers as shown in Chap. IV. It would besides be superfluous to warn the Philippians of persecution by Jews or at Jewish instigation, of which they themselves would have more direct knowledge; which could not be warded off by any such Gentile claim as vs. 3, 'we are the circumcision'; and which would not be traced back to Jewish circumcision or concision, but as in I Thess. 2, 14 to Jewish hatred of Christianity. Nor for similar reasons can 'concision' refer to Judaizers, although the reference to justification has led many to this opinion. For, in general, there are no indications of judaistic agitation in Philippi, where Paul's apostolic authority was unquestioned; and while the same doctrine of justification as in Gal. and in the parallels in Romans is affirmed, yet it is here presented with a different interest. More especially, the denunciations of the immorality and false doctrine referred to in vss. 18 ff., could not possibly apply to judaizing Christians.

When, however, we recognize in these Jews the antinomian Jews of II Cor. 11, 22 of whom the Apostle could have spoken often to the Philippians, we obtain a view of the opponents in Php. 3 which unifies both the threefold description of vs. 2 and its development in the rest of the chapter in reverse order: concision, vss. 3–11; evil workers, vss. 12–16; dogs, vss. 17–19. They are first denounced as the concision in connection with their boasts to be Jews and of consequent superiority as representatives of the real religion of Israel and as ministers of its Messiah. It is suggestive that the feature of the Jewish standing emphasized by them or by Paul is not their legalism but their circumcision, the pre-Mosaic institution. We have no data for determining how they definitely exploited circumcision in their system, save that its spiritual signif-

icance and the realization of the fullness of its meaning and privilege in Christian baptism was ignored. Here in vs. 3 f. it is to them boasting and confidence in flesh, even in fleshly mutilation. In Col. 2, 11 it is contrasted with a circumcision not made with hands, cp. Eph. 2, 11. That it, however, gave them superiority as supereminent apostles, is denied by Paul's claim II Cor. 11, 22, to have equal standing as Hebrew, Israelite and Son of Abraham; and as minister of Christ to have a higher standing, ὑπὲρ ἐγώ. But here in Philippians 3, 4.5, he asserts himself to be more truly a Jew than his opponents, ἐγὼ μᾶλλον. We observe, however, that the specific claims of truer judaism which he makes, could, apart from the persecution of the Church, probably be equalled by many a pharisaic judaizer; and we submit the view that they therefore form a contrast of his complete and thoroughgoing Judaism to the distorted and attenuated judaism of the errorists, which was adulterated with the syncretism environing them in the Dispersion. As they made boast of the circumcision which they could not deny, Paul too emphasizes his own circumcision on the eighth day as of true Israelite stock, in the loyal tribe of Benjamin, and though of the Dispersion, a Hebrew-speaking Son of Hebrews. But far more, and with probable reference to their sophistical antinomianism, he was a Hebrew κατὰ νόμον: of strictest interpretation of it as a Pharisee, of intensest zeal for it as a persecutor, of blameless obedience as regards legal righteousness.

Yet the gains of this full Judaism with the advantage of being a Jew and with the profit of circumcision, Rom. 3, 1; 9, 1–5, he had counted as loss that he might win Christ. In his ensuing reference in vs. 9 to these two contrasted relations, he uses, as we should expect him to use as in Eph. 2, 4–8; Tit. 3, 4; II Tim. 1, 9 f., the terms already wrought out in controversy with judaizers maintaining the general position of Judaic privilege and righteousness by law.[37] In contrast to having any righteousness of his own, which is

[37] The similar boasts of Jewish standing in II Cor. 11, 18 ff. have been found to be made, as here in Php. 3, not by Judaizers but by Jewish gnostic errorists. In the polemic against the Judæo-gnostic heresy, Col. 2, 11 ff. and its parallel Eph. 2, 11 ff., the claim of being the true circumcision and its development by references to justification in mystic union with the dead and risen Christ, shows that in Php. 3, 2–10 the similar allusions to circumcision and justification are not made with reference to Judaizing but to gnostic opponents.

of the law, he is now found in Christ, having God's righteousness by faith in Christ. Wherefore in vs. 3 is his boast in Christ against any and every form of Jewish confidence in flesh. And in vss. 8–11, this Pauline boast is seen to be not against Judaizers, in the fact that the completing statements are not concerned with their positions but with the fundamental issues of his controversy with Jewish gnostic opponents of the earlier Letters: the transcendence of the gnosis of Christ Jesus the Lord, cp. Col. 2, 2.8; Eph. 3, 3; 4, 14; and the gnosis of him in fellowship with his passion and death and in the δύναμις of his resurrection, as the means of attaining the resurrection of the dead, in direct antithesis to his opponents' denial of the passion and resurrection of the heavenly Christ and of a general resurrection.

He is thus led, vss. 12–16, to expose them as the 'evil workers' of vs. 2. The work has been explained above as that of a teaching and prophetic ministry. The spurious prophetic teaching we concluded was in view in the christological passage, 2, 5 ff. It is here in view from the eschatological standpoint, from which we first recognized it in the Thessalonian Epistles. His direct repudiation of it, vs. 12, 13, discloses it as a robbing believers of their prize, Col. 2, 18, viz., the hope of their high calling of God in Christ Jesus, Ppns. 3, 13, and of the wealth of the glory of their inheritance, Eph. 1, 18, when at Christ's manifestation at the Parousia, they too shall be manifested with him in glory, Col. 3, 4. Correlated with denials of these Last Things was, as in the prior Epistles, their false teaching of present perfection in a Kingdom already fully come, I Cor. 4, 8, in the coming and gifts of the Spirit. And that they were τέλειοι by their alleged possession of gnosis, cp. I Cor. 14, 20; Col. 1, 28; Eph. 4, 13 f.; appears in the Apostle's disavowal of his own perfection, since he must still press on to apprehend 3, 12, καταλάβω, as in Eph. 3, 18, καταλαβέσθαι, with all saints, and to know the love of Christ surpassing gnosis. The same denial that τὸ τέλειον was come, with the same emphasis on the related fact that our gnosis was still in part, and the same ideal of apprehending and knowing as we have been apprehended and known by Christ Jesus, when at last we see face to face, was in I Cor. 13, his teaching opposing the perfect, the spiritual, the possessors of gnosis in Corinth.

Obviously such perfectionism based on a spurious emancipating

gnosis which repudiated the moral invigoration of the Christian hope, endangered the moral life influenced by these Jewish evil workers. The Apostle exhorts therefore not only to a following in his own moral walk, but in the concluding vss. 17–21, gives a denunciatory warning of the moral abominations and doctrinal perversions of the errorists by developing his characterization of them as 'The Dogs' in vs. 2. Their immorality was the outcome of their enmity, not to the Christ in view of their boast 'I am of Christ' which Paul denied, Rom. 16, 18, but of enmity to his cross. This would appear in their rejection of the redemptive, emancipating and renovating efficacy of the death of one who to them was the abandoned Jesus, and in their refusal 'to be conformed to his death' in dying with him to sin and rising with him to newness of life. There was equally an inevitable outcome of immorality from the system of redemption by antinomian gnosis with which they displaced the cross. The goal of their immoral walk is perdition. In spite of their boasts to be the spiritual, to be glorified with gifts of power, to be exalted by visions and revelations to celestial spheres, they are fleshly: their god is their belly; they are sensual, and glory in their shame; their interests are in things of the earth. But in the final antithesis to them, the Pauline Christians seek the things above, since their citizenship is in heaven. Thence, as the inspiration of a life of heavenly morality, they still await their perfected salvation with the coming of him who in negation of the false teaching is Saviour, the undivided Lord Jesus Christ; and who in contradiction of any dualistic theory, will fashion anew the body of our humiliation to be conformed to the body of his glory.

We, therefore, submit that in each of the three Letters of this later group, in their prayer, doctrinal statement and direct description of opponents, one definite group of false teachers is in view; that the same class is combatted in all three Epistles; and that the definite denials of the Christian faith and hope, the rejection of the moral ideals of the Christian walk in love, and the divisive opposition to the Church fellowship found in this group, are the same as those found in the earlier groups or are developments of them. We conclude that this result points to the activity of a gnostic movement in Pauline churches beginning shortly after 50 A. D. Surveys of the recognized gnostic activity in the later Epistles will serve as a test of the validity of this conclusion.

4. THE PASTORALS

Constructions of the descriptions of the errorists in the Pastorals and of the frequent incidental allusions to them, both affect and are affected by the critical discussions as to the genuineness of these Epistles. In Baur's construction the mention of the antitheses of gnosis, contests about the law and teachers of the law, were viewed as referring to the Antitheses of Marcion and to his opposition to the Jewish law; and, therefore, as an additional proof of the second century date of the Pastorals. Many liberal critics, however, have subsequently agreed that they do not refer to any definite gnostic sect but to a blend of incipient gnosticism and Judaism later than 66 A. D., and that the Epistles are to be assigned to date between 90 and 115 A. D.

Representative conservative critics, as B. Weiss and Zahn, on the other hand maintain their genuineness on the ground that the features similar to later gnosticism are not descriptions of errors current in the writer's day, but are predictions of heresies of the future. Weiss also holds that in the Pastorals errors are combatted of which we can find no trace elsewhere in the Pauline Epistles, although he grants, *Introd.*, 28.2, that they at least proceed parallel to those in Colossians. He also asserts that these errors are not attacks on any fundamentals of Christian faith and life, but are simply a teaching concerning extraneous things, foolish investigations of matters about which nothing can be known, and profane only in the sense that they are void of all true religious content. Even the denial of resurrection is not characteristic, but only an example of the godless assertions to which some individuals are driven in disputations. Asceticism and libertinism are likewise viewed by him not as practices of contemporary errorists but as predictions of coming errors. In Zahn's construction the Pastorals combat a distinct new false teaching in a rabbinical method, corresponding to nothing in the second century or in the other Epistles of Paul. There would, therefore, be no occasion to invent such a movement in the post-apostolic age or to connect Paul's name with its refutation.

There is no reason, however, for such denial of gnostic elements in the interest of defense of the genuineness of these Epistles. Moffatt, *Introd.*, 153 f., points out that 'the germs of what was

afterwards gnosticism can be detected in various quarters during the earlier half of the first century. At any time after 40 A. D. early Christianity was on the edge of such speculative tendencies'; and their existence 'renders it quite possible that such a religious temper as that controverted in Colossians could have prevailed during the first century.' Lake, *Earlier Epp.*, p. 46, states that 'the argument, that documents such as some of the Pauline Epistles which imply a point of view similar to that of the gnostics must be late, is unsound: gnostic ideas are earlier not later than Christianity, and to prove that any given document is engaged in controverting a gnostic point of view . . . has no necessary bearing on the question of date.' While agreeing with Weiss as to the genuineness of the Pastorals, but confining ourselves here to the study of the data concerning the polemic against the errorists, we proceed to consider the definite indications of their gnostic features, which he denies. The previous construction of these features in the earlier Epistles will enable us to decide whether we have not in the Pastorals a direct development of the general movement we have found emerging in Thessalonica and extending its activity in the Pauline Churches of Achaia and Proconsular Asia.

As in the earlier groups of the Epistles the errorists are 'especially those of the circumcision,' Tit. 1, 10. This points to them rather than to the Gentiles as initiators of the movement, since Gentiles can be more easily conceived as adopting a Jewish system, than Jews as followers of a heathen movement. The definitely Jewish features alluded to are Jewish myths and fightings concerning the law, and also some perverted teaching of the law by the errorists who neither know what they say nor whereof they confidently affirm, I Tim. 1, 7 f. Since this description is introduced by the statement that they have swerved from 'faith unfeigned,' they are not unbelieving Jews; and that they are not Judaizers is equally clear from the description that they have swerved from love and good conscience, and from the reference to their ignorance of the law, which would not be true either of Pharisaic teachers of the law or of its Judaistic Christian observers and advocates. The reference can, therefore, be to antinomian Jewish Christians alone. And this is indicated also in vss. 8–11 by the repetition of the earlier exposition directed against an-

tinomians. As in Rom. 7 the law is καλός if used νομίμως, as knowing that it is not made against a righteous man, but against all forms of lawlessness, insubordination, impiety and immorality contrary to the sound doctrine and in accordance with the Gospel committed to Paul's trust.[38] This interest at the opening of I Tim. in combatting antinomianism is prominent in the entire group of the Pastorals. It is the direct occasion of the constant emphasis on good works, which is not a reduction of Christian morality to an ethical code, but is a continued affirmation of the Christian duty of a moral walk in love in opposition to a false emancipation from the moral law, which we have traced from I Thess. 4, onwards.

The antinomianism is, moreover, as in the previous Epistles, based on the principles of the false teaching. This as didaskalia is not Gospel preaching, from which it is clearly distinguished, but is instruction. By the writer and his followers the instruction concerning Christian faith and life, εὐσέβεια, is based on the faithful word which is according to the didache, Tit. 1, 9. The didaskalia of the opponents on the contrary is denounced at the opening and conclusion of I Tim., as well as in 4, 1 ff.; 6, 3 ff.; in II Tim. 2, 14–3, 9; Tit. 1, 10–16; 3, 9–11, besides the incidental allusions and contrasted statements. In general it is a different teaching, ἑτεροδιδασκαλία; and this primarily as in opposition to the Apostolic tradition of the Gospel, as in Eph. 4, 20 and Col. 2, 5. The opening assertions in I Tim. and Tit. of the writer's apostleship by the command of God, are followed by asseverations of his being divinely intrusted with the Gospel, I Tim. 1, 11 ff., as preacher, apostle and teacher 2, 7; II Tim. 1, 11, cp. Tit. 1, 1–3; the contexts point to these claims as a defense of his office, authority and teaching. In the midst of his claim to be an Apostle, I Tim. 2, 7, he feels compelled to assert, 'truth I am speaking, I am uttering no lie,' which reveals denial of his apostleship, and by the same class of opponents as in I Thess. 2; I Cor. 8, 1; II Cor. 11, 5; 12, 11 ff.; cp. Eph. 3, 3 ff.; Col. 1, 25 ff. The difference of their teaching is further presented in its contrast to the words of faith and of the good didaskalia, I Tim. 4, 6, and more definitely to the sound words, those of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the

[38] See the discussion of the passage in Lütgert, *Irrlehrer der Pastoral-briefe*, p. 10 ff.

didaskalia which is according to εὐσέβεια, 6, 3. While Timothy following these is nourished, the errorists by refusing adhesion to them are diseased concerning questions of controversy and contentions of words. Hence, their insubordination to the Church system and teaching, their besotted pride, deception and profane babblings. They are reprobate both concerning the faith, II Tim. 3, 8, and also unto every good work, Tit. 1, 16.

The false teaching, next, is the outcome of a false claim of gnosis, of whose possession, as we know, the earlier opponents also boasted. In the group of Prison Letters Paul had emphasized true Christian gnosis in antithesis to the claims of the errorists. Here too the false gnosis is in fundamental antithesis to epignosis of the truth. This phrase, while found in several passages in immediate connection with faith, is not simply a general synonym for believing; but it expresses the initial direct divine certainty and bebaiosis of the revelation and redemption accepted by faith. The development of this initial confirmation of faith in epignosis of the truth, is by means of a spiritual gift of increasing gnosis of the divine life, love and will; and it will be manifested in a developing life of good works of love. The essential connection of saving faith and epignosis is traced back in I Tim. 2, 4 to God, who will have all men to be saved and to come to the epignosis of the truth. In the formal introductory declaration of his office and Gospel against the aspersions of his opponents, Paul is an Apostle in accordance with the faith of God's elect and with the epignosis of the truth which is according to godliness. Christians are also described, I Tim. 1, 4, 3, as the faithful and as those who know the truth; while the women under the influence of the teachers of false gnosis, II Tim. 3, 7, are ever learning and never able to come to the epignosis of the truth; and their teachers too who, vs. 8, oppose the truth are also reprobate concerning the faith.

The repudiation in I Tim. 6, 20 of their gnosis as spurious is repeated in Tit. 1, 15 f. in the charge that while they profess to 'know God' they deny him by their works. It is false gnosis by reason of its source. Earlier in Cor. and Col. the errorists claimed higher illumination and power by means of visions and revelations in their communications with celestial powers. In the Pastorals, it has been suggested by Lütgert, p. 59 f., that the emphases in

the doxologies, I Tim. 1, 17; 6, 15, on God's inapproachable majesty and invisibility are occasioned by false claims to direct mystic visions and knowledge of God exalting the beholders above the revelation in the Old Testament or even in Christ. Such claims of a divine ἐπιφάνεια would be refuted also in the special use of this term in the Pastorals to declare that the true Epiphany of God and Christ is in Christ's earthly appearance and Parousia. However this may be, the alleged prophecies and teachings are denounced in I Tim. 4, 1 ff. as utterances in the hypocrisy of men who speak lies and whose conscience is branded. The real supernatural source of the false teaching is seen in its fulfillment of the current New Testament prophecy of an apostasy in later times, due to adhesion to deceiving spirits and teachings of demons; cp. II Thess. 2, 10 f.; II Cor. 11, 3.13 ff. The false gnosis, therefore, instead of being spiritual illumination, proceeds from an evil conscience, is the ἄνοια of men corrupt in mind and 'knowing nothing,' cp. Eph. 4, 14. Its content is not epignosis of the truth but Jewish myths, endless genealogies, profane babblings and antitheses of a gnosis falsely named and the occasion of contentions in regard to the Old Testament law.

What concretely were these bases of the system is wholly conjectural and is still problematical. Ultimate approach to some tenable conjecture commending itself by most reasonably accounting for both the data of the Pastorals and the rest of the New Testament references to gnostic errorists, may be furthered, as stated, by the results of present investigations of the sources of second-century gnosticism, and of the character of pre-Christian Jewish gnosticism, especially in connection with Philo's references to such speculations in Alexandrian religious philosophy, as well as his own relations to it. Any such theory should account in one view for the several terms listed above in the descriptions of the false teaching. Hence, the current disconnected expositions are at once questionable: myths merely as Jewish Haggadoth, which indeed as such would probably not be denounced as profane; antitheses as rival rabbinical decisions of points in the Mosaic law, with which Pauline churches would have no concern; genealogies as haggadic developments of Old Testament lists or histories, whose perverting influence on the fundamental words of faith is not apparent. Nor would any of these con-

jectures sufficiently explain the tendency of interest in such matters, to antinomianism and immorality.[37] But apart from any attempts to conjecture the bases of this false gnosis, we can recognize its essential oppositions to Christian faith and life; and also the close similarity of these oppositions to those in the three earlier groups of Epistles. Most distinct is the opposition to Christian morals.

The recurring positive exhortations to a quiet life in all εὐσέβεια and gravity, and to maintain good works, are in express antithesis to the different teaching; and they are accompanied with direct denunciations of the ἀσέβεια of the errorists: men with defiled conscience, abominable, and unto every good work reprobate. Again we find as in Colossians the alliance of antinomian rejection of Christian morality with false asceticism. Men with branded conscience, I Tim. 4, 2, and reprobate as to good works, Tit. 1, 16, prohibit marriage and certain foods as impure. The problem of such a combination is frequently resolved by distinguishing groups of libertines and of ascetics, as in the later multiform gnostic systems. Hence the tendencies to find both in Colossians and Pastorals two sets of errorists, or with Lütgert to regard the earlier opponents in Corinth as libertines and those in the Pastorals as ascetics. Yet the data in all groups of the Epistles point rather to the general features of but one movement. How close its similarities in Col. 2 and 3 and I Tim. 4 are, appears in the parallel structure of the descriptions of the errorists: asceticism based on spurious revelations; rejecting as evil in I Tim. 4 what God had created and pronounced good, while enforcing on the contrary in Col. 2, 21 f., commandments of men in self-imposed observance. In each passage also it is described as hard treatment

[37] Uniting the terms of the description and observing the constant allusions in sections of polemic with gnostic opponents, to the early chapters of Genesis, there may be a possibility that already as at the end of the century, cp. Moffatt, *Introd.*, p. 408, the system rested on myths concerning the topics in those chapters: creation explained on dualistic principles; gnosis in connection with the tree of knowledge of good and evil; issuing from this the gnostics' attempt to account for evil by their genealogies of æons, emanations and angelic powers, presented in the pairs or antitheses of gnostic systems. The antinomianism reflected in contentions about the law might also be conceived as connected with myths concerning gnosis and subjection to commandment in Gen. 3.

of the body or as the bodily γυμνασία. This in Col. is 'not in any honor,' and in I Tim. is useful πρὸς ὀλίγον. Finally in Col. it is in the interest of full satisfaction of the flesh, as in I Tim. 4, 2, it is a teaching of men with seared conscience and who as elsewhere in the Pastorals are rejecters of Christian morality.

The connection of these two features of what appears to be one general movement, is not indicated in the Pastorals as simply that of libertine reaction from ascetic overstrain. It is an antinomianism which replaces good works from faith unfeigned by commandments of men based on Jewish myths, I Tim. 4, 7; Tit. 1, 13. The commandments mentioned are prohibition of marriage and of certain foods, which, however, are accompanied by indifference to moral purity and with disregard of other standards of morality. These commandments are opposed in the repeated stress upon maintenance of the marriage institution, upon childbearing and upon fulfillment of the duties of affection and subordination in the home, I Tim. 2, 14; 5, 14; Tit. 2, 4. They are likewise opposed in the requirement of marriage and normal discipline of home life for presbyter-bishops and deacons; and the five references to use of wine with moral restrictions are in probable contrast to abstinence from it and from foods, on some theory of evil inherent in creation.

We have noticed in I Cor. 6.7, a similar occasion both to insist that there is no sin in marriage and also to warn against fornication; in Col. both to repudiate commands to touch not, taste not, handle not, and to add exhortations against impurity and to maintain the ideals of family life; in Ephesians too to emphasize the sacredness of the marriage relation on the basis of its divine institution in Genesis. Here in the Pastorals the prohibition of marriage and foods is definitely connected with Jewish myths. Apart from the illustrations in later gnostic systems which are listed in the commentaries, the possibility that these myths are speculations based on Genesis 1–3 is suggested by the parallelism of the topics in these chapters and in the polemic sections of the Pastorals: creation pronounced good in contrast to a view of evil inherent in it; the appointment of food; the institution of marriage; the tree of gnosis in connection with good and evil, obedience and freedom, and with Jewish speculations concerning its reference to sex relations; subjection of the woman to her husband and her childbearing.

Essentially related to this rejection of the Christian morality was a second point of similarity to the errorists already considered: the denial of Christian eschatology. In their teaching, the resurrection has already taken place, II Tim. 2, 18; and this, as we have understood, in their baptism and present possession of the Spirit. That gift is again declared to be but an earnest of the completed Messianic blessing, since in Tit. 3, 6 ff. by this regeneration and renewal of the Spirit, we as justified become heirs according to hope of eternal life. The prominence of the denial of general resurrection in their system is marked not only by this definite reference but also by the antithetical emphasis at the opening of all three Epistles: Paul an Apostle of Christ Jesus our hope; Apostle according to the promise of the life which is in Christ Jesus, cp. I Tim, 4, 8 ff.; Apostle on the ground of the hope of eternal life. Hence too the stress on the final Epiphany, I Tim. 6, 14, and on the waiting for the blessed hope and Epiphany of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, Tit. 2, 13, and the references to the Day. Not till that Day, II Tim. 1, 12; 18; 4, 8; 2, 10–14, shall we reign with him or be denied by him. And the Apostle's closing confession is in the Christian hope that God will save him unto his Kingdom, the heavenly; and as righteous Judge will then give the crown of righteousness not to him only, but also to all them that have loved his appearing.

These two denials of the Christian moral life in the walk of love and of the Christian hope are further, as in the earlier polemic, directly related to denials of the Christian faith. Some who in I Tim. 1, 19, have thrust from them a good conscience have made shipwreck concerning the faith. Denial of the resurrection overthrows the faith of some, II Tim. 2, 18. Professors of gnosis have swerved concerning the faith; do not adhere to sound words, those of our Lord Jesus Christ; are reprobate concerning the faith. They are still within the Church and profess its faith, but theirs is, I Tim. 1, 5, a feigned faith. Their definite perversions are generally recognized as the antitheses to the significant dogmatic emphases, especially in the polemical sections. And they are also closely parallel to the errors concerning fundamental matters of faith, gradually appearing in the earlier Letters with the Apostle's increasing recognition and exposure of the movement.

Less definite in these Letters to his coadjutors and their circles

than in the Epistle to the Colossian Church, is the allusion to false teaching as to the relation of God to the creation. In his attack on false asceticism, we have however noticed his assertions, I Tim. 4, 3, f., of God's direct creation and that πᾶν κτίσμα of God is good, thus counteracting any doctrine of creation by an inferior demiurge and of the essential evil of things created. The title of God as Saviour, and of all men, his will that all should be saved and come to the knowledge of the truth, his grace bringing salvation to all men, are declarations of universalism which are recognized to be, as in the Prison Letters, in contrast to the exclusiveness and separatist spirit of the gnostic teachers.

More distinctly, however, do the christological errors of the earlier Epistles reappear. In I Tim. 2, 5, universal salvation is provided by the One God and by the One Mediator between God and men. Since there is but one Mediator, he is destined for all; and more, as one, he is as well the sole Mediator displacing as in Colossians all other alleged mediators of æons or an angelic hierarchy. Further, in opposition to docetic theories, the one Mediator is the man Christ Jesus, in his manhood really united to the heavenly Christ and truly giving himself to death, a ransom for all. Introductory to the section concerning the errorists, Timothy is called upon, II Tim. 2, 8, to remember the cardinal truths of Jesus as Messiah of the seed of David as regards the flesh, and of his resurrection from the dead. The reference here to denials of the incarnation, passion and resurrection of the dead heavenly Christ, cp. vs. 12, is supported by the parallel use of the statements of vs. 8 by Ignatius, *Trall.* 9, 10. In contradiction to docetic gnostic denial of the union of the heavenly Christ with the man Jesus, cp. I Cor. 12, 3, the good confession I Tim. 6, 12 f., of Timothy in the sight of many witnesses and of Christ Jesus before Pontius Pilate when facing the Cross, is that he, the man Jesus, is the Christ. Against the related gnostic denials of the redemptive death of Christ, we again meet, as in I Cor. 1, 18 f. and in the succeeding Epistles, with the opposing reaffirmations that the One Mediator gave himself a ransom for all; that God saved us by the Epiphany of our Saviour Jesus Christ who abolished death and brought life and immortality to light; that he gave himself for us to redeem us.

All the dogmatic passages reveal the same interest in safeguard-

ing fundamentals of Christian faith against errorists whose 'other teaching' involves a swerving from, a denial of, a blasphemy against, a shipwreck concerning, that faith. The five Faithful Sayings are to be considered in this connection, although they are variously assigned to statements preceding or following the phrase. Lütgert may be right in considering, p. 52, the formula πιστὸς ὁ λόγος as an assurance indicating that the statement of faith is oppugned. Rendall's view that ὁ λόγος refers to the Gospel as a whole, is advocated by Evill, *Exp. Times*, XXIX, 442 ff., who holds, however, that I Tim. 1, 15 is the only Faithful Saying, the others being reminders of it. But he also offers the attractive suggestion that the reference of the saying to the preceding or following context is determined by the use of save, salvation or Saviour. This would fix the reference of the first and third Sayings to the words following, and of the second, fourth and fifth to what precedes. In such case, the first, I Tim. 1, 15, affirms the faith in the incarnation and redemption of Christ Jesus. The second, 2, 15, against the ascetics' opposition to marriage and their antinomianism, is an assurance of salvation in the state of marriage, childbearing and in abiding in the Christian faith and moral life of love, purity and sobriety. In the third, 4, 10, the Christian hope of life still awaiting us who are not already perfected but are still laboring and striving, rests on the promise of the living God and Saviour of all. The fourth, II Tim. 2, 10, cp. Phpns. 3, 10 ff., against errorists concerning the person of Christ who refuse to be conformed to his suffering and death, affirms that the salvation which is in Christ Jesus with eternal glory, awaits those who suffer and have died with him that they may reign with him. The fifth, Tit. 3, 4–7 or 6.7, recalls that Jesus Christ our Saviour has poured out the Holy Spirit upon us richly that we may become heirs according to hope of eternal life.

It is also to be noticed that all these Faithful Sayings are linked with the polemical sections. The first three in I Tim. each conclude a polemic passage. The fourth, II Tim. 2, 10, introduces the first mention of the errorists in that Epistle. The fifth, in Titus, introduces the final reference to them. The other dogmatic summaries are likewise directly related to the false teachers. I Tim. 3, 16 f., introduces the denunciation of them in 4, 1 ff. II Tim. 1, 8 ff., is introduced and concluded with a disavowal of

'being ashamed' of the Gospel he preaches and for which he suffers, intimating therefore that it is impugned. And Tit. 2, 11–14, sums up positively the features of his Gospel opposed by the false teachers: the Epiphany, the revelation of God in the appearance and redemptive death of Christ Jesus on earth and in his reappearance in divine glory; the sober, righteous and godly life, in contrast to antinomian immorality and asceticism; the expectation of the blessed hope, the Parousia, consummated salvation and resurrection; and the λαὸς περιούσιος, the people and Church purified for his own possession, zealous of good works. These are all antignostic teachings. That they were directly designed to oppose the errorists, is evident from the command in vs. 15 to use them not only in instruction and exhortation but in confutation, with all authority, of those ready to despise Titus. And these we may find in the preceding section, 1, 9–16: the opposers whom the presbyters are to confute; the intruding false teachers whose mouth must be stopped by Titus, confuting them sharply, ἀποτόμως.

The reference to 'the people for his own possession,' recalls the inevitable dangers of this movement for Church fellowship and life. As in the earliest allusion to their activity in Thessalonica, they are with their individual gift of gnosis, 'insubordinate.' In their boast of being pneumatics, they ignore as heretofore the apostleship of Paul and the authority of any ministry, either of apostles, evangelists or local presbyter-bishops. Besotted with pride, they assert also their independence of the Apostolic tradition of the Gospel, the primitive instruction of converts and the doctrinal teachings based upon them in the Church services. The 'gainsayers,' ἀντιλέγοντες, Tit. 1, 9, are such in reference to the faithful word according to the didache and to the sound didaskalia; just as in I Tim. 6, 3 those who teach a different doctrine, do not adhere to the words of the Lord Jesus and to the didaskalia according to εὐσέβεια. Claiming divine inspiration for themselves, they, although of Jewish provenance, go beyond what is written in the Old Testament, cp. I Cor. 4, 6; and in contrast to the function and use of the Old Testament in relation to Christian faith and life, as enjoined on Timothy, II Tim. 3, 14–17, they evince their disregard for its authority by their myths and antinomian contentions concerning the law.

Such an attitude towards the Gospel, teaching, discipline and ministry, involves their insubordination to the institution of the Church as the household of God, the pillar and ground of the truth. Their activity within it could therefore tend only to undermine its peace, unity, fellowship and life. The leaders are consequently described as αἱρετικοί, men causing divisions. These are raised, as in Corinth, in the Church services, in which it is necessary to enjoin, I Tim. 2, 8, that the men pray lifting up holy hands without wrath and disputing; and that in the teaching at the services, those in charge should repress foolish contentions which engender strife, disputes about words subverting the hearers, myths, genealogies and fightings about the law which cause unprofitable strifes rather than the dispensation or stewardship of God in faith.

Hence too the specific directions to the two Evangelists concerning the choice of a ministry fitted for teaching and discipline in this situation. To confute errorists, as well as to minister in the word and didaskalia, they must themselves be blameless in faith and morals: holding the faithful word according to the didache, as the deacons likewise must hold the mystery of the faith in a pure conscience. In contrast to the pride and contentious spirit of the false teachers, they must be not self-willed, Tit. 1, 7; I Tim. 3, 3; II Tim. 2, 24, men disposed to anger and strife, but gentle and forbearing. Repelling antinomian indifference to Christian morals, they must themselves be examples of the good works of the sober, righteous and godly life. The three prohibitions of the love of money and base greed of gain, recall this characteristic of the false teachers both in the Pastorals, Tit. 1, 11, and in the earlier Epistles. The duty of the presbyter-bishops to receive and to extend hospitality to visiting brethren, may possibly in these contexts as in III John 5 f. and 10, allude to the exclusiveness and separatist spirit of the errorists; and Lütgert, p. 71, suggests that the emphasis on sobriety of mind, gravity and σωφροσύνη is directed against the extravagances and agitations of the excited visionaries. In the remaining qualifications it will be noticed that the ministry will not be chosen from the false ascetics or their sympathizers. Bishops, presbyters and deacons are to be married and to maintain their family life. Instead of abstinence from wine based on some dualistic theory of creation as evil, there are injunctions on moral grounds against being 'given to much wine,' and being πάροινος,

which probably from its position in both lists means 'violent over wine,' cp. also I Tim. 5, 23; Tit. 2, 3.

The specification regarding their marriage is related to a divisive influence outside the Church services: the intrusion of false teachers into home life. They overthrow whole houses, teaching what they ought not, Tit. 1, 11. The method of this overthrow appears to be connected with four peculiar references to married women. Immediately following the description of the errorists in Titus, are given injunctions concerning the household. While the elder men are to receive only most general exhortation to soberness of mind and soundness in faith, love and patience of hope, and the younger men to be soberminded, there are specific instructions for older women, and still more for the younger women. There is occasion to urge them to love their husbands and children, to be soberminded, chaste, workers at home, kind, being in subjection to their own husbands. The motive for the stress upon such ordinary and normal conduct is 'lest the word of God be blasphemed.' This special warning to them could be accounted for by the hypothesis that under some form of teaching claiming to be Christian, households were being overthrown; and that the reason for blaspheming the word of God was the repudiation by Christian women of marriage, childbearing, subjection to husbands, home duties. There is besides in the list of duties impressed, the ominous reference to chastity.

We have also in II Tim. 3, 6 f. a similar collocation of errorists and of their activity among women. Here too they creep into the houses and bring into captivity silly women. Paul in polemic against the gnosis of Corinthian opponents describes himself as bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ, II Cor. 10, 5. These women on the contrary are brought into captivity to the intruders' system; and although ever learning in it, are never able to come to the epignosis of the truth. These adherents of antinomian teachers are besides described as laden with sins and led by divers lusts. The widow that lives riotously and the young widows reproached in I Tim. 5, 13, are not stated to be followers of the errorists. But the ensuing injunction that young women or widows marry, bear children, rule the household, to give no occasion for reviling, with the addition 'for some have already turned aside after Satan,' again suggests an opposing

teaching. Uniting these three references to women in the household with that to women in the Church service, I Tim. 2, 9, we can recognize not only with Lütgert but also with Dibelius in his commentary, p. 195, the influence of a gnostic teaching of freedom of the spirit, emancipating women in the household from childbearing, from the institution of marriage, as well as from the morality of law and social custom. The allusions to Genesis in I Tim. 2, as already suggested, could be a retort to a gnostic myth exploiting the reference to eating of the tree of gnosis in connection with sex relations, the childbearing, and the husband's rule over the woman, Gen. 3, 16.[40] This gnostic perversion of the Pauline gospel of liberty would also be expected to affect the slaves in the 'whole households' which the errorists overthrow. Lütgert, therefore, argues, p. 43 ff., that the formulation and contents of the instructions for slaves in I Tim. 6, 1; Tit. 2, 9, point to an emancipating tendency fostered by the false teachers. Their spirit of insubordination and independence of all authority and social order, would also account for the reaffirmation of submission and loyalty to the State in I Tim. 2, 2 and Tit. 3, 1.

Thus even in these Epistles concerned definitely with Church Order, *πῶς δεῖ ἐν οἴκῳ θεοῦ ἀναστρέφεσθαι*, we find the occasion and controlling interest to be the instruction of the Evangelists, not in the general principles of Church administration in its various spheres, but specifically in the needed discipline of the churches of Ephesus and Crete, which are exposed to the internal danger of gnostic teaching. I Tim. opens with the charge against heterodidaskalia, as it ends with the denunciation of the pseudognosis upon which the teaching is based. Intervening are the warnings of its denials of faith and hope, of its perversions of morals in individual and family life, of its disruption of fellowship within the Church's order of worship and ministry. A summary of the principles by which the false teachings are to be repelled, serves as the letter preface to Titus, introducing, 1, 5, the call for their application in setting in order the things that are wanting; and

[40] For the rôle played by women among the errorists of the Pastorals and in later gnostic systems, see M. Dibelius, *Hdbuch., Z. N. T.*, Excursus to I Tim. 2, 15. Cp. also Harnack, *Miss. and Expans.*, II, p. 75 ff. concerning the special prominence of women in the heretical sects, with the patristic references and the summary in Jerome, *Ep.*, 133, 4.

the Epistle concludes with the injunction to refuse errorists who reject the Church's admonitions. The central sections of even the personal, II Ep. to Timothy, are concerned with the discussion of the same movement.

Being addressed to associates fully familiar with his conflict with the gradually emerging error, these Letters naturally do not so much present as the earlier Letters, discussions of its principles and teachings, as positive concrete directions for combatting them by Gospel principles and by personal discipline of their propagandists. Yet even from this new viewpoint we submit that at every essential point of comparison, the false system is found to belong to the same movement as that whose activity we have recognized in the churches of Asia, Greece and Macedon from five to fifteen years earlier. Consideration of the provenance, more general character and methods of the movement and also of the Apostle's methods of opposing it as it became more clearly recognized, will follow our examination of remaining Epistles; since in them too, we believe, will be seen the activity of a gnostic movement with the same controlling characteristics, and combatted on the same principles of defense and polemic.

5. HEBREWS, CATHOLIC EPISTLES AND REVELATION

THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS

The Epistle to the Hebrews has been frequently described as an apology for Christianity. In this case, however, it is to be recognized, cp. Moffatt, *Hist. N. T.*, p. 344, that it is apologetic in the definite sense that its primary interest is to establish believers in their βεβαίωσις: their full assurance of faith in their confession of hope. The occasion for this establishment is a strain upon their Christian hope, due both to external persecutions, 10, 32 ff., 12, 3 ff., and internally to the intrusion of teachings depriving them of the inspiration of the patience of hope to endure, and eventually causing them to drift from the faith upon which this hope rests.

It has been usual to regard the Epistle as addressed to Jewish Christians whose loyalty to Christianity is weakened, especially amid persecutions, by the difficulty of a delayed Parousia, by the standing Jewish difficulty of a suffering Messiah, and more con-

cretely by the loss of the privilege of sharing the Jewish Temple worship. The relapse of the readers would, in such a view, obviously be to their former legalistic and ceremonial Judaism. In favor of this interpretation of the situation is the fact that the central teaching of Christ's heavenly priesthood directly meets these assumed difficulties. But the remaining sections of the Epistle may point to a different situation. And in fact the general trend of recent criticism of various schools is against the view that the danger of a relapse is that of a return to Judaism. It is shown by Von Soden, *Handktr.*, p. 12, that several of the principal exhortations would not be appropriate or effective as dissuasives against such a return; that some of the sins involved in a relapse are equally opposed by the law; that there is no evidence of inclination to legalism as among the impelling motives to it; and especially that a return to their former Judaism would not be described as in 3, 12 as falling away from the living God. Besides, a relapse to Judaism involves a rejection of Jesus' messiahship. Yet the Epistle assumes throughout the readers' belief that he is the Messiah, while it warns against misconceptions which would nullify his messianic character and work. There is no repetition or reënforcement either of the original apologia proving Jesus to be the Christ, or of the usual form of the argument from the Old Testament pointing to a suffering Christ.

These considerations have led next to the view that the relapse must be to heathenism; and, therefore, that the readers are Gentile converts wavering under the strain of persecution and of the delay of the Parousia. Against this construction, however, is the whole impression made by the Epistle that the readers are of Jewish nationality, cp. Zahn, II, 323 ff. All the topics and arguments are not only derived from the Jewish Scriptures, but assume Jewish interests, meet special Jewish difficulties and appeal to Jewish motives and sympathies. Gentile converts are of course familiar with the Old Testament. But on the supposition that they are tempted to return to heathenism, arguments from the Old Testament would not be effective to men rejecting the manifold witness of the Gospel which had originally led them to recognize the Old Testament as one of the forms of the witness they were now supposed to be repudiating. The reference to the primitive instruction in 6, 1 ff. does not prove the heathen pro-

venance of the readers; nor is it determined, as will appear, by the warnings against departing from the living God or treading under foot the Son of God. It should be noticed in this connection that many scholars who hold the Gentile destination of the Epistle, would agree with Zahn that the readers are not disturbed by false doctrine or errorists. McGiffert, *Apos. Age*, p. 466 ff., views the threatened apostasy as not due to the influence of Judaism, or as connected with it in any way; the discussion of the priestly office of Christ and the comparison between the old and new covenants not being written to convince skeptical minds, but to arouse the courage and zeal of believing but weak and fainting souls, upon the occasion, p. 469, of external persecution. Ropes, *Apos. Age*, 269 f., also finds a purely practical aim in guarding the Gentile readers against a relapse into religious indifference and a worldly life; and similarly Windisch, *Hb. bf.*, pp. 45 and 111 views the situation of the readers as that of general religious exhaustion, and not an inclination to any religious false doctrine, specifically not to a Judaistic or syncretistic gnosis. MacNeill too, *Christology of Hbws.*, holds, p. 13 ff., that the writer fears not the attractive power of any definite form of religion, but the subtle power of unbelief. He adds, however, p. 115 ff., that in the writer's own frame of thought, the three strands of classic Judaism, Alexandrianism and primitive Christianity are 'filled out also from the syncretism of the mystery religions of his day. This element may be small, but it is an influence which must be noted.'

These concluding statements recall another construction of the situation which finds the speculative interests revealed in the Epistle not primarily in the writer but in opponents. In this case the persecuted readers are also exposed to speculative teachings tending to pervert both the Apostolic Gospels and the fundamentals of the Jewish faith. Thus Peake, *Hbws.*, p. 11 f., notes as the occasion not only moral defect and intellectual stagnation but also intellectual error: 'the danger of falling under the fascination of varied forms of false teaching foreign to Christianity.' Häring, *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1891, pp. 589–598, proposed as the occasion the danger of succumbing to the speculative Judaism of Alexandrianism, in the most general sense: without circumcision or full legal demands; illuminated, spiritualized; open towards and adopting the tendencies of the Age, yet with complete connection

of its own ideas with elements of positive religion; seductive also as a protection against external dangers, since the Christians were increasingly exposed to persecution. 'Departing from the living God,' which could not be a return to Judaism, is conceivable as a relapse of heathen Christians into this speculatively tinged Judaism, 'for this had really no living God in the sense of actual religion.' Several other constructions of the historical occasion would seem to tend in various degrees towards such a view. Moffatt, *Introd.*, pp. 445, 449 f., though with careful reserves, conceives as a subordinate factor in the situation of the readers, the possibility that they have been nourishing their faith on the Levitical portions of the Old Testament; and that they are exposed to the seductive tendencies of a speculative Judaism allied to certain ritualistic and sacerdotal proclivities, similar perhaps to those controverted in Romans or Colossians; with this was the presence of elements drawn from pagan cults. Bacon too, *Introd.*, p. 145, finds the contents adapted to those in danger of overrating the Old Testament; and, p. 148 f., exposed to both orthodox and syncretistic worship of the letter of the law. The Judaism opposed in the Epistle is the 'divers and strange teachings'; and if we may judge from the effort of chapters 1 and 2, tendencies as in Colossæ toward gratuitous self-humiliation and worshiping of the angels; and the ordinances of the law were inculcated in a mystical and eclectic spirit, reminding us rather of the false teachers of the Pastorals.

These latter constructions imply in general that the speculative influence was a propaganda of opponents outside the Church. There remains, however, the possibility that it was exerted within the Church by a speculative Judaism which included in its syncretism Christian elements and professions. This view is advocated by Weinel, *Bib. Theol. N. T.*, p. 432: 'In Hebrews which in its positive doctrines is nearest Colossians, the supposition of a conflict against this movement, *i. e.*, Jewish Christian gnosis, first brings unity into the otherwise completely disconnected theses of the polemic against the doctrine of angels, which lowers Christ and yet will not allow him to be considered as Man; and against Judaism with temple, sacrifice and priesthood.' He, however, p. 455, considers the whole conduct of the discussions of the Epistle as purely academic apologetics.

It is obvious that all theories of the occasion and aim of the Epistle must, in the absence of data as to the author, destination and date, be conjectural. Our sole criterion for their probability is their accordance with such indications of the situation and purpose as is supplied by internal evidence. We therefore proceed, in a survey of these indications, to inquire whether with Weinel an opposing gnosis is to be assumed, and also whether it presents the general features of the movement as constructed from the Pauline Epistles. In such a case we should of course expect special emphases on these features and a distinct mode of their treatment, due both to the individuality of the writer and to the definite situation of the readers, who may have been exposed to a special form of false teaching by some one of 'the infinite variety of gnostic sects.' An affirmative decision as to gnostic references, it may also be premised would not determine either the date or destination of the Epistle; since on the view we have advocated, a gnostic movement was operative within the Church from 50 A. D. onward, and probably in all the quarters of the Jewish Diaspora to which the Epistle has been variously assigned.

We are first impressed with the general correspondence recognized by numerous writers between the implications of the arguments in Hebrews and the polemic against the errorists in Colosse, written about 63 A. D. It is most clearly marked in the two opening chapters. As in Col. the basis of the argument against the opponents is in 1, 1–4, the supreme and final revelation of God in Christ, who is again as in Col. 1, 16 ff. cp. II Cor. 4, 4, the εἰκών of the invisible God; and as Son is the heir, creator and ruler of the universe. Any gnostic theory of creation and rule by intermediary powers, or of evil as inherent in creation, is thereby repelled in both Epistles. And similarly in both is the emphasis on his redemption, followed by his exaltation. In the immediate development of these opening statements, the Son's superiority to angels is declared in a series of arguments implying a direct opposition to the false doctrines of angelic mediators of revelation and redemption in Colossians. The commentaries present in detail the Christ's superiority as the only Son of the Father, and the object of angelic worship; as the divine heir and creator of a universe in which angels have but 'ministerial and transitory offices'; as sharing the divine throne, around which the angels serve and from which they are sent

forth not to receive worship but to minister to the heirs of salvation.

In still more definite contradiction of any doctrine of angelic mediation of this salvation, it is shown, 2, 3–18, that human redemption and perfection could only be effected by a method which no angel could follow; a method moreover in direct contradiction of gnostic docetic christology. For it is a redemption which was possible only by a real incarnation, passion, death and exaltation. The Son and Lord who, 1, 3, made purification of sins, is now, 2, 9, the human Jesus who has been made a little lower than angels, made in all things like unto his brethren; and since they are sharers of flesh and blood, he also in like manner partook of the same. For not of angels doth he take hold, but he taketh hold of the seed of Abraham. And this real union with humanity by incarnation was for its redemption by equally real suffering under temptation; by the suffering of death, in order that by death he might, cp. Col. 2, 15, bring to nought him that had the power of death, that is the devil, and might, cp. Col. 1, 21 f., deliver those subject to bondage through fear of death. Being himself perfected by these sufferings, crowned with glory and honor on account of the sufferings of death, he is the author, ἀρχηγός of salvation of the many sons. The redemption in this union with his brethren by incarnation, death and resurrection, is finally summed up as his work as high priest to make propitiation for the sins of the people. And it is also, in contrast to gnostic exclusiveness, a universal salvation, a tasting death for every man, cp. also 2, 15.

This concluding description of the Son as high priest develops the statement concerning his purification of sins, 1, 4, and the reference to his session as Melchizedek priest in 1, 13, in connection with the exposition of Ps. 8, in 2, 6–16. It controls also the succeeding teachings and exhortations in 3, 1–10, 18, whose subject is Jesus the high priest though whom we have our entrance into the holiest, as the basis for the exhortations to hold fast the confession of our hope without wavering under external and internal oppositions.

This declaration of his high priesthood as summed up in 2, 17, is repeated with the same significant emphases of the two opening chapters, in the summaries at 4, 14; 5, 7; 7, 26; 8, 1; 10, 19: his divine sonship; his incarnate life as Jesus, Son of God, in the days of

his flesh; his sinlessness, the reality of his temptations and his ability to sympathize with our weaknesses; his human obedience as Son, his one sacrifice of himself, his perfecting by these sufferings; his heavenly exaltation and priesthood, in which he is the author of salvation: forgiveness, direct access to the throne of grace, boldness to enter into the holiest, and this by the blood of Jesus, by the new and living way, through the vail, that is his flesh.

In the discussion of the theme emerges from time to time this same special interest in affirming redemption by a really incarnate and dying heavenly Christ; a perfected head and representative of humanity as the author, ἀρχηγός of its salvation, the forerunner entering within the vail on our behalf, the mediator and surety of the new Covenant, the Son over God's house, which house are we; all of which relations are gathered up at the close in his description as the great high priest over the house of God. As every high priest is taken from among men in behalf of men, our Lord hath partaken of and come forth from Judah; and using the LXX text of Ps. 40, came into the world at his incarnation, in a body God prepared for him. By the offering of the body of Jesus Christ we have been consecrated. In his own blood he entered into the holiest: the blood of the Christ offered through his eternal spirit. And from his death as mediator of the new Covenant proceed the blessings of forgiveness and eternal inheritance.

These references to his true humanity and redemptive death are of course essential to the writer's exposition of Christ's high priesthood. But since his several recapitulations of it are linked with his presentation of it in the two opening chapters which are closely related to the Pauline refutation of the false teaching in Colossians, we can recognize with Weinel that the interest of chapters 1 and 2, in repelling a false doctrine of the person and redemption of Christ, is reflected in the teaching concerning his high priesthood, and unifies the several sections of the Epistle. Adopting this view of a reference to the opposition of a speculative Judaism within the Church and of the suggestions of its similarity to the errors combatted in Colossians and the Pastorals, and, therefore, to the general gnostic movement we have found in the earlier Epistles, we can further infer that among the occasions for the exposition of Christ's priesthood was not only the need of rebuttal of a denial of the redemptive death of an incarnate heavenly

Christ, but also of the opponents' attitude to historic, objective revelation.

The Pauline Epistles pointed to errorists claiming superiority in their individual gift of the Spirit, both to the Old Testament and to the Apostolic tradition of the Gospel. In antitheses to such a position, this Epistle opens with the affirmation that God spoke in many portions and modes in the Old Testament prophets; and in the quotations that follow, instead of the usual formula 'it is written,' it affirms that God is the speaker. Even in the Tabernacle structure the Holy Spirit is recognized as 'signifying' its meaning. Likewise the Gospel salvation is divinely revealed: having at the first been spoken by the Lord, confirmed unto us by the Apostolic witness, with God's accompanying witness by signs and wonders and gifts of the Holy Spirit. Upon this basis of revelation, the Apostolic tradition of salvation in the incarnate, dying and exalted Christ, can be expounded in its relation to the utterance and oath of God in Ps. 110, whose discussion as Windisch, p. 120, states 'forms in fact the great central section, 4, 14–10, 18.' Following Häring, p. 595 ff., we may see in the writer's interpretation of the Psalm and of the accompanying references to the Old Testament sacrificial institutions, his relation to the opponents' method of interpreting their Scriptures. By these speculative Jews, 'the Old Testament religion was made a danger for Christians, since they taught them to discover in it images, copies of eternal truths, of a heavenly world of ideas. But to the author, the Old Covenant was a copy, a shadow in a sense which goes beyond and contradicts the sense of the opponents. It was not merely an allegory, but a historical preparation, actual prophecy of the New Covenant. Jesus, to whose revelation and priesthood the Old Covenant points both by the way of type and copy and also by the way of historical preparation, is the archetype of all types; and is the reality of this highest archetype in the simple literal sense as Christians understand it, as in their experience they know that access to God is revealed through the one sacrifice of their actually exalted high priest, and that their unerring hope is assured.' [41] Häring thus postulates

[41] Jowett, *Interpretation of Scriptures*, p. 271 f., concludes his essay on St. Paul and Philo with statements similar to those of Häring. 'There is truth in saying that . . . in the Epistle to the Hebrews a higher use is made of

a speculative Jewish teaching and its attitude to historic revelation, from the form of the author's interpretation of the Old Testament and its sacrificial system, on the principle, p. 594: 'it is, in accordance with parallel New Testament instances, antecedently probable that the utilization of definite forms of structure in the interest of polemic, serves for the paralyzing of their utilization with an antagonistic purpose.' And as already stated, the doctrinal emphases in the contents of the exposition can be similarly regarded as antitheses to concrete denials of the real incarnation and death of the heavenly Christ, as the sole ground and means of a real forgiveness, divine access and inheritance by hope.

The main division of ten chapters of doctrinal exposition resembles the doctrinal section of Col. 1–2, 3, in the method of positive affirmation which would counteract denials of christology and the Christian hope as the inspiration of the walk in love, in the fellowship of the one body of Christ. But unlike Colossians and the Prison group of Letters, there is no description of the errorists. In the interwoven hortatory section, however, we may find a few additional intimations of the character of the opposing teaching, from possible allusions to its threatened effect upon the readers. If then the 'perverted and alien teachings' were of a gnostic character, they would include the assertion that the previous Apostolic teaching was but rudimentary, and would also promise

the Alexandrian ideas, and the figures of the Mosaic dispensation. That is to say, the form . . . is an expression of the same tendency which we trace in the Eastern or Alexandrian Gnosis. But admitting this similarity of form, the difference of spirit which separates the author of the Hebrews from Philo, is hardly less wide than that which divides him from St. Paul. And although he approaches more nearly to Philo in his conception of faith, and carries the allegorical method further than St. Paul, . . . he too never leaves the groundwork of fact and spiritual religion. Alexandrianism knew nothing of the God who made of one blood all nations of the earth; of the victory over sin and death; of the cross of Christ. It lifted up the veil the temple, to see in a glass only dreams of its own creation.' Cp. also, p. 269. 'Philo has no connection with the prophets, and no real connection with the law. To the former he seldom refers, while to the latter he assigns a purely arbitrary meaning. He does not catch the real preparations and anticipations of a higher mode of thought in the books of Moses themselves. He is unable to see the light shining more and more unto the perfect day in the Psalmist and the Prophets.'

maturity and spiritual perfection by means of the new system. It is, therefore, significant that in the first direct description of the readers, 5, 11–6, 12, they are warned that they are in reality *νήπιοι*; and as immature still needing milk, not the solid food of the *τέλειοι* who have been trained to discriminate the good and evil. Both the detailed statements and the connection of the passage with the warning of danger of lapsing from the initial Christian faith, suggest an antignostic allusion in view of the close parallels in polemic statements: I Cor. 3, 1 ff.; 14, 20; and Rom. 16, 19, in their contexts; Eph. 4, 13 ff., cp. Philippians 1, 9 f.; 3, 15. The contrast between his confidence, 6, 9 ff., in the readers' loyalty and its reward and his warning of the dread issues of the implied false teaching, is presented, vss. 7, 8, as that between soil bearing *βοτάνη εὔθετος*, herbs meet for them for whose sake it is tilled and blessed by God, and soil putting forth thorns and thistles, which is rejected, *ἀδόκιμος*, nigh unto a curse, whose end is to be burned. The figure, as constantly in previous New Testament polemic against gnostic errorists, is taken from Genesis, 1–3: the divine creation of plants with the blessing of increase, and their appointment for the food of man, Gen. 1, 11 f. 29; and the divine curse, 3, 17, on the ground because of the eating of the forbidden tree of gnosis. The possibility that thorns and thistles and their rejection and burning could allude to false teachers and their doom, is shown by Christ's use of the same figure, Mtw. 7, 17 ff., in his description of the fruits and fate of false prophets. Similarly Ignatius, Ephes. 10, 3, warns against the *βοτάνη* of the devil, in concluding the reference, 9, 1, to 'certain persons passed through you from yonder, having evil doctrine.' In Philad. 3 abstinence from evil herbs is likewise urged in a passage referring to false teaching; and in Trall. 5 f. the readers are as *νήπιοι* to abstain from strange *βοτάνη*, which is heresy; cp. also Trall. 11. These passages seem to be based on Hbws. 6, 7 f., and in any case support the interpretation of these verses as alluding to errorists.

Nothing, however, is said in the Epistle as to the source of their doctrine: whether as in the earlier Letters, in visions, revelations or other alleged gifts of the Spirit. The author's method is the positive presentation of his own doctrine with its bases in the Old Testament, the revelation in Christ, the Apostolic tradition, the word of the Lord as spoken by the hegoumenoi, and in the

personal experience of the readers. Any possible claim to special revelations through angelic mediation or in exclusive gifts of the Spirit are repelled by the angelology of the first chapters, by the affirmations of the common participation in the gifts of the Spirit in 2, 4 and 6, 4, as well as by the declaration of the privilege of all believers, of direct access to God.

The perverted and alien teachings can be conjectured as alien to the topics of the Christian didache summarized in 10, 22–25. The ποικίλαι διδαχαί concerning the person and work of Christ and the Christian hope are refuted in the doctrinal section establishing the readers 'in full assurance of faith and unwavering hope,' which are also the topics of the succeeding exhortations in 11, 1–12, 13. The remainder of the hortatory section, 12, 14–13, 17, develops the two remaining topics of 10, 24 f.: love and good works, and the ἐπισυναγωγή; the portions of the didache referring to Christian morals and Church fellowship, cp. Seeberg, *Didache d. Judenthums u. d. Urchristenheit*, p. 112. But the special character of the development of these topics indicates that the injunctions are not concerned with the general conduct of the readers, but with their relations to a special disturbing influence. This is clear in the matter of Church fellowship. The separatist spirit is distinctly described as only the custom of some, καθὼς ἔθος τισίν. The need of 'stirring up to love and good works' appears likewise to be not the need of the Church as a whole, but of some element within it. For in 6, 9 it is commended, with assurance of God's remembrance, for its work and love shown both in past and present ministrations to the saints. Yet, there in vs. 11 is added a desire that each individual, ἕκαστος ὑμῶν, should show the same zeal. So, too, in 10, 24, the exhortation is not simply to zeal in good works but to the Church's ministry to its individual members: κατανοῶμεν ἀλλήλους to stir up unto love and good works. And in the development of this in 12, 14 f. the ministry of personal attention and watchfulness is more definitely urged as ἐπισκοποῦντες, 'looking carefully' as to the intrusion of an influence of individuals described as 'any man drawing back from the grace of God, any root of bitterness troubling you and thereby the many be defiled, any fornicator or profane person as Esau, who for a mess of meat sold his own birthright.' This peculiar formulation is not the usual warning to Christian readers

against the commission of familiar forms of sins, but as stated is a warning against the influence of some tendency to such sins intruding into the Church. And again, its perversion of grace, its divisive spirit as a root of bitterness leading to defilement of the many, the fornication, profaneness, βέβηλος, and contempt for the Christian inheritance and hope, all leading to apostasy and divine rejection from the kingdom point to characteristic features of the gnostic movement.

In 13, 1–6 only some five precepts of the Two Ways, cp. Seeberg, *Hb.bf.*, 141, are selected for exhortation. Yet from earlier references in the Epistle it appears that the readers are already observing them. Their brotherly love is simply to continue. Their hospitality to strangers, remembrances of those in bonds and afflictions, absence of covetousness, has been affirmed in 6, 10; 10, 32 ff. Fornication, in 12, 16, is not mentioned as a sin practiced by the readers, but as a sin against whose entrance into the Church, they were to be on guard. The occasion, therefore, for this selection is, not the non-observance of the precepts by the readers, but as in 12, 15 f., the need of warning against the outstanding immoral tendencies of the alien teachings. These tendencies are here, breaches of the Church fellowship by the false teachers' separatist and exclusive spirit, without brotherly love or welcome of Christian strangers; refusal to accept or to sympathize with sufferings for the Gospel's sake in fellowship with Christ's sufferings, being conformed unto his death, Philip. 3, 10, cp. Lütgert, *Irrlehrer d. Pastoralbriefe*, p. 75 ff.; and the love of money, which characterized the errorists in Thessalonica, Corinth and in the Pastorals. Especially, there was a tendency as in all four groups of the Pauline Epistles, to reject marriage and at the same time to treat fornication with indifference. Hence, the assertion: 'Honorable is marriage among all'; and 'God will judge fornicators and adulterers.'

These indications of the general features of gnostics' teaching concerning morals are, finally, supported by the reference to their attitude towards the Church's worship and ministry. The readers are exhorted, 10, 25, against receding from the assembly of themselves. This has been understood by Zahn as an injunction not to remove from their own house church in Rome to another. But as Windisch notes, the duty of exhortation, vs. 25b,

could be equally well fulfilled in a new Church home. More usually it is viewed as a call not to abandon Christianity for the Jewish synagogue; or when the readers are considered to be Gentile converts, not to return to their former life. Such an abandonment would, however, be one definite act which would not be described, 'as the custom of some is.' Windisch avoids this objection by translating 'neglect not our assembly' and by interpreting the passage as referring to the duty of regular attendance at the assemblies. But this exposition accords neither with the meaning of ἐγκαταλείπω, nor with the wider outlook of the context, nor with the succeeding warning, which is the most solemn in the whole Epistle.

Westcott accounts for 'the evil habit,' as arising from three motives: partly to escape Jewish hostility; partly to enjoy the greater attractions of Jewish assemblies; partly 'through self-confidence, as though they no longer needed the assistance of ordinary common worship, where the general average of spiritual life might be counted too low to aid more mature believers.' But it is evident that these are disconnected motives which would not combine into a threefold motive of the definite group in the writer's mind. Only one of them can be the actual motive; and since we find no indication of the existence of the first two, we conclude it is the third which points to the concrete occasion of the exhortation.

In it, ἐπισυναγωγὴ ἑαυτῶν recalls to us Paul's description of the assembly for worship in I Cor. 14, 23.26: ἐὰν συνέλθῃ ἡ ἐκκλησία ὅλη ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό; and ἐγκαταλείποντες, his references, I Cor. 11, 17 ff. to σχίσματα when they 'come together ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό.' These we have considered to point to the errorists' separatist attitude in the assembly for the Agapæ and Eucharist, both for doctrinal reasons and also as Westcott suggests in regard to Hbws. 10, 25, through self-confidence, as no longer needing, as mature believers, the assistance of ordinary common worship. Westcott himself finds traces of 'forsaking the gathering of our own selves together for fellowship in divine worship,' in Jude 19: 'those who cause divisions.' The Didache, ch. 16, 2 f., is a similar parallel both in wording and context. And among other parallels in the Apostolic Fathers, our view of the passage and of I Cor. 11, 17, is most distinctly illustrated in Barnabas 4, 10: 'Do not entering in

privily, stand apart from yourselves as if ye were already justified, but assemble yourselves together and consult concerning the common welfare.' [42]

This topic of the assembly for church fellowship and worship is moreover developed in 13, 7–17, in the order of the topics in 10, 22 ff., after the discussion of the themes of faith, hope and the good works of love. Spitta [43] also recognizes these verses as a definite compact section concerning Christian assemblies for worship in Eucharist and Agapæ. In view of its selection and treatment of special topics relating to Church order, it too may have been constructed with allusion to the contrary custom of those who cause separations; as in 10, 25 the exhortations are to be based on the approach of the Day, which contemporary errorists denied. The special topics in 13, 7–17 are the Church's teaching, worship and discipline. The first two are presented in direct contrast to some opposing tendency; and the third will also be found to suggest a similar contrast.

The exhortations of 10, 25 are to be based in 13, 7 f. on the Apostolic tradition of the hegoumenoi who have spoken the word of the Lord, and on their faith in Jesus unchangeably the Christ. And this in contrast to the perverted or mixed and alien teachings of vs. 9; and is also in renewal of the exhortation of 2, 1–4 against drifting away from the things heard, from the salvation which having at the first been spoken by the Lord was confirmed unto us by them that heard.

We can also observe with Spitta as cited above, whose view Goetz is disposed to favor,[44] a contrast in vss. 9–16 between the worship of the Church in the Eucharist and the Jewish sacrificial meals. The approach to the interpretation of the passage can best be made, not by a decision as to the disputed meaning of the 'altar,' [45] but by a determination of the reference in *βρώματα*

[42] *Μὴ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐνδύνοντες μονάζετε ὡς ἤδη δεδικαιωμένοι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνερχόμενοι συνζητεῖτε περὶ τοῦ κοινῇ συμφέροντος.*

[43] *Zur Geschichte u. Literatur d. Urchristenthums*, I, p. 325.

[44] *Die heutige Abendmahlsfrage*, 1907, p. 195.

[45] Moberly, *Ministerial Priesthood*, p. 269n., sees the possibility of uniting the view of Lightfoot that 'the altar is the congregation assembled for Christian worship' both with Westcott's primary reference of the words to the Cross on which Christ offered himself, and with his secondary reference of them to the Eucharist.

in vs. 9. We can reject with Windisch the view that it is to the Holy Communion; or to Mosaic food laws; or on Von Soden's theory, to heathen sacrificial food. Windisch himself deems as most probable a reference to the influence of a Jewish syncretism even in Christian circles. This we believe is to be found in the section as a whole, but not in βρώματα as an allusion to syncretistic food rules, since these in Colossians and the Pastorals refer to abstinence and not to participation of foods. We therefore find with Spitta and Westcott, the reference to be to Jewish sacrificial meals; and more definitely to the βρώματα of Hbws. 9, 10, which are there in the same contrast to vss. 11 ff. as in Hbws. 13, 10 ff.

On this basis, 13, 10 ff. presents a contrast between Christian worship and the sacrificial worship of Mosaism; and definitely, in connection with the Jewish sin offering and with the thank offering, accompanied here with free will offerings of beneficence and contributions. Spitta points to the direct comparison of the Eucharist with the sin offering in the specific references to the body and blood of the temple victims. For while the Jews cannot eat of the body of the sin offering burnt without the camp, and while the blood of goats and bulls offered in the earthly tabernacle can never, 10, 4, take away sins or perfect the worshiper, 9, 9; 10, 1, Christians on the other hand feed in their worship on Christ the true offering for sin, and are consecrated in the New Covenant by his blood. Their confession of God's name through Christ, in worship and praise is in vs. 15 a thank offering of praise: 'as bullocks, our lips.' Their beneficence and contributions in the Eucharist and Agapæ, a free will offering, as in Philippians 4, 18, 'an odor of sweet smell'; and in both passages is a sacrifice acceptable to God.[46]

The traditional view of the occasion of this passage is that it is the readers' disposition to return to Jewish sacrificial worship. Such a relapse we have not, however, been able to recognize in the rest of the Epistle. And in view, moreover, of the connection of the passage with the preceding and following injunctions concerning the hegoumenoi, and with the introductory summary in 10, 25,

[46] Spitta, p. 328. "In Hebrews the whole Meal obtains the character of a sacrificial meal; and indeed to the extent that all its characteristic elements, prayer and beneficence included, fall under the concept of θυσία."

we regard it as evoked by the 'custom of some' who both hold aloof from the Church's eucharistic worship and also reject the teaching and authority of the hegoumenoi. Against them the writer emphasizes, as Paul in I Cor. 10, 16, the reality of feeding, and in the context on the sacrificed body of the heavenly Christ, cp. 10, 10; and the real redemptive significance of Christ's own blood. The compressed argument is here again in terms and conceptions of the Jewish sacrifices. This form suggests that the passage is to meet the same situation as called forth the discussion of the person and work of Christ as the true high priest transcending the Old Testament sacrificial system. Those who denied the reality of the blessings in the eucharistic worship, would be also those indicated in the rest of the Epistle as denying the high priesthood of Christ as incarnate and atoning. As they had been refuted in their doctrinal positions by means of the argument from the Levitical system, so their opposition to the Church worship is met by a similar argument that in it is a feeding upon a sacrifice; the full reality of the blessings of divine communion and worship towards which the Old Testament sacrifices pointed. And we can make here an additional application of Häring's view, sup. p. 311, that the form of the discussion of Christ's priesthood is related to the opponents' perversion of the meaning and character of the Old Testament and its institutions. The Jewish sacrifices though but temporary, insufficient to perfect the worshipers, a shadow, 10, 1, of *ἀγαθὰ μέλλοντα*, were nevertheless not to be allegorized into mere 'images and copies of eternal truths and of a heavenly world of ideas'; but were real anticipations, shadows and copies of *ἀγαθὰ γενόμενα*; of the blessings which were realized by Christ's offering, 9, 11, and in which Christians participate in their eucharistic communion with Christ the eternal high priest.

The whole section closes with a call to obedience and submission to the hegoumenoi. Von Soden observes here evidence of some strained relation, since the readers are urged to submit with a view to obedience. He sees also in the mention of alien teachings, a reference to some who seek to force themselves forward into the place of the departed hegoumenoi; and he conjectures as the general cause of differences in the Church, the question of *βρώματα*. In our construction of the section, we have, however, found in all its three topics, the influence of those who oppose the Church

teaching, worship, and in vs. 17 the Church authority. The concrete occasion of this last opposition is indicated by the reference to the pastoral ministry as dominated by the eschatological convictions concerning the Judgment at the Parousia, which was repudiated by errorists, but which in 10, 25 ff. also is to be the subject of the exhortations in the Church services. The mention of the lamentation of the hegoumenoi and of the readers' loss, ἀλυσιτελές, cp. Luke 17, 2, is the final allusion to the internal dangers from perversions of the Church's faith and life. What they were, is seen in the expansion and explanation of this closing warning in 10, 26–29, which follow upon the introductory summary of the four topics of fundamental instruction: the fearful expectation of judgment of those who tread under foot the Son of God, count 'the blood of the Covenant' a common thing, and insult the Spirit of grace.

We find therefore that every test which the data of the Epistle permit us to apply, leads separately and in combination to the conclusion that the aim of Hebrews is to establish its readers who are wavering as to the Christian hope both by reason of external persecution and of the intrusion of false teaching of gnostic character; and that it is this opposing teaching which is controverted in the doctrinal establishment of faith and hope in Christ the great High Priest, and in the succeeding exhortations to faith, hope, love and Church fellowship.

THE FIRST EPISTLE OF PETER

In the group of Catholic Epistles, we shall not discuss the possibility of references to errorists in James or III John. For if the early date and general Palestinian destination of James is accepted, we have no evidence of an active propaganda of gnostic errorists in the churches of that district in the period of 45 to 50 A. D. If on the other hand it is dated 62 A. D., in James's lifetime, or still later, we fail to find any allusions to Jewish gnostics asserted by Pfleiderer, *Urchristm.* II, p. 546, and Weinel, p. 435, in the practical applications of chaps. 2–5 of the religious principles in chaps. 1–2 governing the training and discipline of faith amid trials, 1, 3; cp. Acts 14, 22 and I Thess. 3, 2–4. We also pass over III John, as it is still debated whether the opposition of Diotrephes was 'ecclesiastical or doctrinal'; and even if it were on doctrinal grounds or

was based on refusal to admit brethren who would attack intruding errorists, we should still have to find the polemic against them in the Second Epistle. There is of course no question of a polemic against errorists in I and II John, Jude and II Peter. But with few exceptions, the remaining Catholic Epistle I Peter is held to contain no allusion to them. We believe, however, that such a possibility merits a further consideration.

The First Epistle of St. Peter is addressed to Christians in four provinces of Asia Minor at a date variously placed from 62 A. D. onwards. Since we have concluded that at least in the Province of Asia, a gnostic movement was active at the beginning of this period, and since its activity there, in view of the Johannine writings, is recognized at the later dates assigned to the Epistle, the question arises whether this Epistle contains any reference to gnostic errors. If no such allusions are made in it, it would not contravene our previous conclusion as to the early emergence of the movement. For if it were not extended throughout the whole district addressed, the writer might decide that it was not necessary to refer in such a circular letter, to a special local danger. And it is also obvious that the Letter might have had a special occasion and aim, which did not call for reference to this definite subject. Whether, however, the movement is alluded to, must be determined by a consideration of the aim and contents of the Epistle.

On the usual view it is written on occasion of persecutions, to establish the readers in the patience of Christian hope, and to exhort them to loyalty, strict morality and peaceableness in order to ward off suspicion and attack. Such a construction is justified by portions of the contents, which call for no reference to internal doctrinal errors; and accordingly no such allusions are ordinarily recognized. But the data of the Epistle point to the need of a construction of its purpose along this additional line. For both the stated aim of the Apostle and the contents in their entirety show that the writer has in mind not only the danger of an external fiery trial, but also the accompanying strain of internal attacks. While encouragement in regard to the manifold trials is given throughout the Epistle, yet this encouragement is interwoven with doctrinal establishment. Further, the concluding statement that the purpose of writing, 5, 12, is to exhort and testify that 'this is the true grace of God: stand ye fast therein,' shows that

the Letter along with its encouragement amid persecution, is also a vindication of a doctrinal position. Upon reviewing the structure, this combined character can be recognized. We find not only that doctrinal statements are made in direct support of the exhortations to patience and moral behavior under trials, but also that these statements are further frequently developed into more fundamental doctrinal affirmations, testifying to the true grace of God. The occasion of these additions could conceivably be the vindication of this true grace of God against perversions of it. This conjecture would, moreover, increase in probability, if the assumed references to perversions were found to combine into a definite form of opposition, such for example as we have already found in the Pauline Epistles.

This Pastoral to widely scattered churches develops the fundamental topics of primitive instruction and current Apostolic teaching, in connection with the situation of the readers: faith and hope amid persecution; and emphasis on Christian morality and Church fellowship. Our present interest is to notice whether in the treatment of these topics, gnostic perversions of them are assumed. The most distinct gnostic error is its perversion of Christian eschatology: the Parousia, general resurrection and judgment. It is therefore at once significant that the writer's emphasis on this topic is so prominent that Peter has on this account received the title of the Apostle of hope.[47] If the sole occasion of writing was external danger, it was directly met in the closing main division, 4, 12–19, by establishment in the patience of hope along the lines common in New Testament writings: as ye are partakers of Christ's sufferings, rejoice; that at the revelation of his glory also ye may rejoice with exceeding joy. In addition to this, however, we have an opening eschatological section, 1, 3–12, in the doxology for regeneration to a living hope. There too the hope of salvation is the basis of rejoicing amid manifold temptations. But the greater part of the section is for the doctrinal establishment of this basis of hope itself. It rests on the personal experience of regeneration by the Father, on the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead. It is the hope of a salvation not yet perfected; of an inheritance reserved in heaven; of a salvation ready to be revealed in the last time at the revelation of Jesus Christ. This hope of salvation rests,

[47] Cp. B. Weiss, *Der Petrinische Lehrbegriff*, pp. 25–98.

further, on the witness of the Spirit of Christ in the Old Testament prophets concerning the sufferings and glories of the Christ, and on the Apostolic preaching of the Gospel in the Holy Spirit. In contrast to any view of angelic mediation, angels desire παρακύψαι, to bend over and look into these things.

The writer's interest in doctrinal establishment of the eschatology is seen also in the application of the doxology: they are to gird up the loins of their intellect, and to set their hope perfectly on the grace that is to be brought unto them at the revelation of Jesus Christ. And the more definite application of the section in vs. 14, is again not to endurance of trials as in 4, 12 ff., but to Christian morality inspired by this hope.

The fact that the main features of this opening section are emphatic affirmations of positions opposed to gnostic errors, may be considered accidental, or as simply showing the Apostle's interest in the topic of hope expressed in terms of current teaching. But on the other hand, when these features are viewed in their definite structure, in their connection with the readers' situation and with the writer's expressed aim, 5, 12, the probability that they are intended to fortify patience in trials which is in danger of being weakened by denials of the Christian hope, is strengthened by the consideration that this first section would in fact serve to meet directly these specific denials.

Turning to matters of faith, the basis of hope, we again notice passages which are not directly related to encouragement in trials, but to some need of establishment in 'the true grace of God.' Besides the positive statement, 1, 11 f., that the Apostolic Gospel rests on the witness of the Spirit of Christ in the Old Testament and is delivered in the Holy Spirit, we have the assurance, 1, 23 f., that it is an incorruptible regenerating seed, the eternally abiding word of the living God, and that the new born grow unto salvation by reception of this λογικὸν ἄδολον γάλα: the milk, without deception, offered to them in this word. The immediate application of this passage, 1, 22–2, 1 ff., is, again, not to support of external trials but to avoidance of immorality in brotherly relations. The emphasis on this divine basis of faith and hope would of course tend to the establishment of both; but the concrete references to those who preached the Gospel in the Holy Spirit and to their Gospel as the word of God, imply also the need of establishing the Apostolic

Gospel against some claim of its insufficiency in comparison with a higher communication by individuals with superior prophetic gifts of gnosis and revelation.

The references to christology point in the same direction. Christ's redemptive death, 1, 18 f., is presented as a motive for holiness; but with a specific development. It is a redemption by the blood of Christ as of a lamb without spot, even of the heavenly Christ foreknown before the foundation of the world and manifested at the end of the times, cp. Rom. 16, 25. His real sufferings, though he was sinless, are recalled, 2, 21 f., as an example for suffering slaves. And here too, vs. 24, is added an emphatic statement of his death as redemptive: who his own self bare our sins in his body on the tree, that we having died unto sins might live unto righteousness. The statement is parallel to Paul's rebuttal of gnostic teaching and libertinism in Rom. 6, 3–11 ff. In 3, 13–4, 6 the suffering of Christ the righteous is once more the basis of exhortation to holy living by those suffering for righteousness' sake. And again an additional doctrinal interest emerges in the specific references to his suffering in the flesh; to his being put to death in the flesh, but made alive in the spirit, in which he preached to the spirits in prison; to the resurrection of this dead Christ, who is now on God's right hand; and further to angels, authorities and powers made subject to him as their Lord.

These statements of the manifestation of the preëxistent Christ as suffering in his body of flesh for sins, rising from the dead to God's throne, supreme over angels, together with the references to flesh and spirit and to Christ's approaching apocalypse in glory, form in fact a definite antignostic christology. They are not, in their details, directly called for by the sole occasion of the readers' need of support in trials, and of prompting to holy living in order to parry accusations. They do, however, establish them in the true grace of God, which the Apostle states is his object in encouraging them in their crisis of fiery trial. In these matters therefore of fundamental faith, as before in the subject of the Christian hope, the probability appears anew that internal dangers from false teaching are met by the specific doctrinal affirmations of the Epistle.

We shall find the same indications of a reference both to external and internal dangers in the passages concerning the Chris-

tian moral life of love. To the exhortations to morality is added, as before, teaching pointing to doctrinal occasions of possible moral indifference. It is teaching concerned with the fundamental motives and inspirations to holy living. Preceding the main section, 2, 11 ff., on the need of good works with which to silence accusations, the section 1, 13–2, 3 exhorts to holiness in all manner of living on the basis of the antecedent development of Christian hope, 1, 3–12, as the invigoration of moral obedience; and it adds the motive of moral responsibility for the blessing of redemption from former sins by the death and resurrection of the heavenly Christ. The Apostle proceeds in 1, 22 to exhort to unfeigned brotherly love, and in 2, 1 ff. against sins in contrast to it, by the motive of their regeneration upon obedience to the truth: the word of God as preached to them in the Apostolic Gospel. In 3, 18 ff. the means of death to the lusts of men, and of life in the flesh according to the will of God, is in vss. 21 f. as in 2, 24 union with the dead and risen Christ. Certainly these doctrines are the bases and inspirations of Christian morality in any circumstances. But it is significant that here they all are emphasized, and that they are doctrines directly contradicting gnostic teachings which in the earlier Epistles are opposed as destroying the foundations of morality.

Moreover, the discussion of the moral duty of Christians in the State and in the household as slave, wife and husband, which as elsewhere in the New Testament is based on the initial instruction, reflects the exposure of the readers to the influence of gnostic teaching of emancipation. Its boast of individual freedom by the possession of the Spirit would tend, as was noticed in previous Epistles, to affect not only the duty of submission to the authorities and ordinances of the State, but would also especially rouse up the spirit of unrest among slaves and excite the women to assert their independence in the home and in the social life. The section 2, 13–3, 8 assumes and meets such a situation. Loyalty to the State is urged and is specifically coupled with the warning of 2, 16: as free and not having your freedom for a cloak of wickedness. Slaves are bidden to submit under any circumstances of injustice. The length of the exhortation to them, greater here than elsewhere in the Epistles, points to their special danger in this crisis, which would be heightened by any manifestation of the

perversion of the Christian liberty mentioned in the preceding verses. The motive for submission is here the example of the suffering Christ, and the additional development of the redemptive efficacy of his sufferings and death, which gnostic teachers denied.

The call to women to obedience to their own husbands, to sobriety in dress, to the incorruptness of a meek and ἡσύχιος spirit, assumes like I Tim. 2, 9 and parallels, the influence of an opposing spirit of false emancipation. Due subordination within the home, the Apostle concludes, does not involve contradiction of woman's dignity and Christian liberty, since they are not to fear with any terror. And the accompanying injunction to husbands, 3, 7, concerning the maintenance of marriage relations, recalls by its special terms the same opposing teaching as in I Thess. 4, I Cor. 7, Hbws. 13, disparaging the marriage institution.

If there was then in the Asian churches an internal danger from gnostic teaching, it would appear not only as threatening faith, hope and the morality of Christian love, but also as an insubordinate and divisive spirit in the corporate fellowship of the Church. This fellowship of the Church we meet as the concluding topic of each of the three main divisions of the Epistle. In the last of these, the local ministry is addressed, 5, 1 ff., in direct connection with the fiery trial. In it their pastoral work is to be inspired with the recollection of Christ's suffering and with the hope of glory. Their pastoral spirit, to adopt the terms of B. Weiss and Chase, is not to be that of slaves, hirelings or tyrants. There is, however, no reference, even in the last two expressions, to church officers of a contrary spirit. The close parallels in I Cor. 9, Acts 20, and the gospel commands, reveal these directions as part of primitive instructions concerning Church order, being gradually formulated. The only possible allusion in this passage to an element of insubordination to church rule, is the call to humility within the Church, vs. 5, which has no apparent relation to the dangers from without.

The first main division concludes the positive affirmations concerning eschatology, morality and redemption by the death and resurrection of Christ, with the subject of Church fellowship in 1, 22–2, 10. This passage, however, is not related to present sufferings, but to 'the true grace of God,' cp. 2, 10: the readers who formerly were no people, are now the people of God; they had not

obtained mercy, but now have obtained mercy. It is a grace in which they are to stand; by which they have become living stones in a spiritual house of which Christ is the head corner stone; an elect race, a holy royal priesthood to offer up spiritual sacrifices through Jesus Christ. These detailed affirmations, 2, 4–10, of the corporate character of their Christian life, and this interest in the unity and spiritual functions of the Church, would of itself suggest a need of controverting some divisive influence subversive of the Church's fellowship. And in fact we find this teaching concerning the Church to have been given to support the exhortation to mutual fervent love, since they have purified their souls in obedience to the truth, to the word of God preached to them in the Apostolic Gospel, unto unfeigned love of the brethren. It may well be that the frequent collocation in the Epistles of brotherly love and matters of Church order, is due to their connection in the primitive instruction. But their selection for emphasis in this Epistle to support Christians in a crisis of trial, can be most readily understood as intended to guard them against an internal danger of false teaching which in addition to dissolving the Christian faith and hope steeling them to endurance, was an element disrupting the unity of love, sympathy and brotherhood that would as in Philippians 1, 28, enable them with one spirit and one soul not only to believe on Christ but also to suffer on his behalf.

The same principle of selection may likewise control the section relating to inner Church life and worship, which closes the second main division, 4, 7 ff. Its reaffirmation against any denials that the end of all things is at hand, is to lead the readers to be sober unto prayers; and also, in contrast to any separatist influence, to mutual fervent love and to welcome of Christian strangers, without murmuring. The pneumatics, definitely, are not to use their charismatic gifts of utterance or ministry as exclusive and vaunted individual endowments, but as stewards in God's household, of his manifold grace.

We thus find in the Epistle indications of an aim to establish readers exposed both to an outer fiery trial and to an internal danger perverting the true grace of God. Hence the encouragement amidst trials rests upon reëmphasis on the Christian hope based on faith, as the inspiration to a moral life of love in Christian fellowship; and this reëmphasis is in opposition to gnostic teaching

subverting these fundamentals. This primary interest in establishing his readers in order to his encouragement of them, accounts for the Apostle's method of positive statement of the true Christian principles, rather than of direct discussion of the opposing system. We have, however, seen that practically all the characteristic features and results of gnostic teaching in the New Testament age, are in fact rebutted in the Epistle; and they can therefore reasonably be assumed to have been in the writer's view. While there is no special reference to a false teaching concerning the incarnation, yet the repeated emphasis on the redemptive death of the heavenly Christ, cp. 1, 19 f., guards against a docetic christology. And gnosis as the principle of the system may, apart from possible verbal allusions, be assumed to be the basis both of the false emancipation from the authority of the Apostolic teaching, the moral rule and social order, and also of the divisive spirit; all of which we have found to be opposed throughout the Epistle.

SECOND PETER AND JUDE

The references to gnosticism in I Peter could be still more definitely recognized if II Peter were accepted as genuine. In it there is no doubt of such reference. If then it was the work of the Apostle, he shows full acquaintance with the movement and an intense interest in opposing it. He would therefore have been animated by the same interest when writing the first Epistle to the Asian district, where we have previously found the movement to be active.

The contrast in the method of referring to it and of opposing it in the two Epistles might then be explained, as by those maintaining the genuineness of both, by various theories of different destinations: the first Epistle to Gentile converts in Asia Minor, the second to Jewish Christians in Palestine and neighboring districts, so Zahn; or to churches which in the view of B. Weiss have changed in the interval of a decennium to a predominantly Gentile Christian character; or which, with Bigg, are now troubled by the intrusion of errorists from Corinth; or the first Epistle being an encyclical like Ephesians might be viewed as characterized by general references to a situation common in churches in the four provinces, while the second, like Colossians, as interested in a danger looming in a special district.

In view, however, of current critical denials of the genuineness of II Peter even by many leading conservatives, we shall consider its references to errorists apart from the question of its relationship to I Peter, and on the largely accepted view of its dependence on Jude. It will suffice for the present purpose to construct the main features of the system combatted in these Epistles. We proceed on the theory that II Peter as a whole and not merely in its second chapter is constructed on the basis of Jude, as may be concluded from Mayor's comparisons, pp. i-xvii, and the texts in parallel, pp. 1–15.[48] As Salmon, *Introduction*, p. 477, was inclined to find in Jude 'heads of topics enlarged on, either in a larger document or by the Apostle himself in viva voce addresses,' so we may notice in II Pet. such enlargements in chaps. 1 and 3 of the topics of true gnosis, the Apostolic faith and the Parousia. We therefore use Jude as the basis of the description of the errorists in the two Epistles, and compare II Pet. as developing and applying Jude's description.[49]

The errorists are still within the Church. Their methods, characteristics and teachings are well known to the writers; although from the urgency of the denunciations and warnings in Jude it has been suggested that their activity in the churches addressed by him, has but recently begun.[50] They have 'intruded'; and an outstanding mark of their propaganda is their separatist spirit. This is probably alluded to in the description, vs. 3, of Christianity as our common salvation, and possibly in the statement, II Pet. 1, 1, of faith as ἰσότιμον, with Field 'equally privileged.' Since there is no suggestion in the Epistle of inequality of privilege in the faith of Gentile and Jewish converts or in that of the Apostles and their converts, the remaining alternative may be that the expression is an allusion to the claim of the intruders to special spiritual honors. They are in any case those who cause separations, Jude 19, and in II Pet. 2, 1, privily bring in destructive

[48] J. B. Mayor, *Epistle of St. Jude and the Second Epistle of St. Peter*, 1907.

[49] E. I. Robson, *Studies in the Second Epistle of St. Peter*, 1915, advocates the theory of fragmentary documents attributed to Peter, first used by Jude and then by an Alexandrian redactor, 130 A. D., who in II Pet. adds to Jude fragmentary material welded together by his editorial connections, as indicated in special type in a reprint of the text, pp. 9–14.

[50] H. Werdermann, *Die Irrlehrer des Judas-und 2. Petrusbriefes*, 1913, p. 122.

divisions, αἱρέσεις ἀπωλείας. Naturally these become manifest at the Christian assemblies for the Agapæ and the associated Eucharist. And in fact the most direct description of their activity is given in connection with their relation to it in Jude 12 ff., and the parallel II Pet. 2, 13 ff.

While the Agapæ is an expression and means of furthering Christian fellowship and unity, the intruders are in Jude 'hidden rocks,' with Mayor; and as such, sources of danger and division, and centers of agitation. Or if with Bigg σπιλάδες is equivalent to σπῖλοι καὶ μῶμοι, the spots of II Pet., there is expressed the same idea of marring and contaminating the peace and unity of the Christian service and life. As in I Cor. 11, 18, the σχίσματα are connected in vss. 27 ff. with participating in the Agapæ and Eucharist unworthily and without discriminating the body, so those who cause separations 'feed without fear,' or in Bigg's rendering of συνευωχούμενοι, 'Carouse together by themselves.' Jude's meaning of ἀφόβως is indicated by the expression in II Pet. 2, 13: 'counting our sober daylight joy (the Agapae) mere vulgar pleasure,' in the translation proposed by Bigg. Thus revelling they are spots and blemishes when 'feasting with you in their Agapæ.' If the reading ἀπάταις is adopted, we may have here the writer's repudiation of the name of Agapæ for their behavior and can render with Mayor after Hofmann 'revelling in their deceits, while feeding with you.'[51] Their divisive influences in the eucharistic worship as the service of unity is further expressed in 'shepherding themselves.' This is not to be restricted as by Bigg to their defiance of church rulers, but in connection with the familiar New Testament use of ποιμαίνω it refers to their rejection of the general pastoral ministry of the Church exercised in this context in the instruction, worship and discipline in the Agapæ-Eucharist, as in I Thess. 5, 12 ff., and the Ignatian Epistles. It points thus to their withdrawal from the main group of worshippers; eating apart with their followers and expounding to them their teachings.

Jude's opening reference to them in vs. 4, is in denunciation of their false teachings; and these it would seem were imparted in the

[51] Werdermann, p. 83 adopts ἀπάταις, but finds in συνευωχούμενοι a reference to feeding in the Agapæ, and regards favorably Ewald's conjecture of a word-play in ἀγάπαι—ἀπάται.

schisms at the Agapæ, vs. 12 f.[52] The waterless clouds as interpreted in II Pet. 2, 18, describe their boasts and promises of superior spiritual gifts, especially of freedom. These, however, are not fulfilled, but lead to renewed slavery, to corruption in lusts, as was already taught in Paul's warnings against the errorists in Rom. 6, 16 ff. As wind-driven clouds, cp. Ephes. 4, 14; II Pet. 2, 14; Mtw. 7, 27, their teaching is destructive of establishment in faith, of growth and upbuilding. As fruitless autumn trees, their teaching issues in no fruit of the promised perfection, but in uprooting and death, cp. Mtw. 7, 19; II Pet. 1, 8. The figure of the destroying flood and of being tossed to and fro by the waves of error, is applied in Jude to the intruders as 'wild waves of the sea foaming up their own shames' in their libertinistic teaching. In II Pet. 2, 14, it seems that this immorality of teachers with eyes full of adultery and that cannot cease from sin, is closely connected with practices at or issuing from the Agapæ.[53] Finally in their antinomian emancipation they are, in contrast to 'the heavenly luminaries which transgress not against their appointed order,' wandering stars dashing off as meteors into the blackness of darkness.

In the more generalizing references these manifestations of the activity of the innovators are seen to be based on boasts of gnosis as their peculiar possession of the Spirit and, therefore, of freedom of the Spirit from all forms of external authority. In Jude those who separate themselves as being the pneumatics in contrast to ordinary Christians, who are viewed by them as merely psychic, cp. I Cor. 2, 14 ff., are denounced as not possessing the Spirit.[54] And, therefore, in v. 10 they have 'no knowledge' of that of which they speak evil, but only a psychic knowledge like the beasts without reason; and they even pervert this psychic instinct to their destruction. In the parallel, II Pet. 2, 12, their

[52] Von Soden: The four comparisons, whose origin from Enoch, 2–5, 4 is made very probable by Spitta's proofs, characterize successively the instability, unfruitfulness, impurity and the certain doom of these persons.

[53] Werdermann, p. 83: They probably arranged for special meetings in which they promised a more definite introduction into their secret teachings. In these meetings individuals could participate upon payment; and not impossibly, indeed according to the statements of the Epistles it is even certain, they combined orgies with the meetings, which proceeded to acts of lewdness.

[54] Windisch notes that the psychics do not here represent an intermediate class, as among the Valentinians, but the contrast to the pneumatics.

railing is the result of their lack of gnosis, ἀγνοέω; and again they are compared to beasts without reason, born creatures of instinct for sensual gratification, whose destruction they will share; cp. also I Cor. 6, 12 ff. and Philippians 3, 19.

These compressed allusions in Jude to false gnosis are expanded in II Pet. 1, 3–11 concerning true gnosis, and are again summarized in the antithetic conclusion, 3, 18, concerning growth in grace and gnosis of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, as well as in the opening salutation that grace and peace may be multiplied in epignosis of God and of Jesus our Lord. His readers already possess all gifts that pertain to life and godliness, through their epignosis of God who called them. Their Christian life is not to be idle and unfruitful, but to abound by a sevenfold development of their faith in love, vss. 5–8, and thereby in epignosis of our Lord Jesus Christ. The passage recalls the similar growth and relations of moral fruitfulness, love and gnosis in Philippians 1, 9 ff.; Col. 1, 8 ff. The gnosis of the errorists despite their boasts of visions and ecstasies as in II Cor. 12, 1 and Col. 2, 18, rests on mere dreams, Jude 8, ἐνυπνιαζόμενοι.[55] In a somewhat similar context, II Pet. 1, 9, we meet with the retort that they are blind, closing their eyes to the light. Allied with boasts of gnosis and revelation is their pride, arrogance, daring self-will, and great swelling words of vanity which characterize the errorists of the earlier Epistles, and the same greed of money, loving like Balaam 'the hire of wrong doing.' II Pet. 2, 19, points directly to their claim of liberty as the basis of these boasts. It emerges in both Epistles as independence of all forms of external control of their individualism.

Their superiority to the Apostolic tradition of the Gospel is revealed in Jude's need to call his readers to contend earnestly for the faith once for all delivered to the saints, and in the calls, II Pet. 1, 12 f.; 3, 1 f., putting the readers in remembrance of the

[55] Moffatt, *Historical N. T.*, p. 595, renders this, 'men of sensual imagination,' who, p. 589, claim to possess visions. Similarly in his *Introduction*, p. 355, it has the force of false prophets, with their sensual dreams, p. 349. Mayor, p. 33, cites the LXX passages where it is used of lying dreams of false prophets as contrasted with the word of the Lord. On p. 74 while understanding it to mean men who live in an unreal world, he yet finds possible a further allusion to II Thess. 2, 7–11 'which may perhaps refer to the wild dreams of Gnostic mythology.'

words spoken before by the holy prophets, and the commandment of the Lord and Saviour through their Apostles. In the practical scope of Jude's brief and compressed Epistle there is no discussion of the doctrinal bases of their opposition to Apostolic teaching. In his opening description of them, vs. 4, he, however, summarizes it as a denial of 'our only Master and Lord, Jesus Christ.' Mayor decides for the other rendering: denying God and Christ: yet thinks the phrase 'cannot mean less than that they put forward ideas out of harmony with the doctrine of the Incarnation and of the Divine Nature,' p. clxxv, and p. 27. II Pet. 2, 1, adds to this their denial of the Master that bought them. This would point to their rejection of his redemptive death, as in the earlier descriptions of them; and this could here also be on the familiar dualistic ground of their docetic denial that the suffering Jesus was the divine Christ. In opposition to their perversion of messianic prophecy alluded to in 1, 19–21, which was constantly presented in support of the teaching of a suffering Christ, and to their cunningly devised μῦθοι which are here directly related to the Parousia of Christ and might also be connected with their denial of the Lord and his redemptive death in the succeeding statement, 2, 1, the reference to the Transfiguration, 1, 16 ff., would be a direct refutation of their christology. It occurred in connection with the first annunciation of the Passion. In the appearance of Moses and Elijah speaking with the transfigured Christ concerning his exodus which he was to fulfill at Jerusalem, we have the word of prophecy made sure. The transfiguration was besides in confirmation of his own immediately preceding announcement of his Parousia in power and great glory. And the divine assurance, 'This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased,' is given to Jesus while still in his life of real humanity; already accepting the humiliation of his Passion; and already, before the resurrection, revealed in glory as the heavenly Christ, as the incarnate Son of God. We know from the Pauline Epistles how even the Apostolic christology could be perverted by a cunningly devised docetic gnostic theory of the resurrection of the heavenly Christ. But all forms of docetism, denials of a real incarnation, redemptive death, resurrection and Parousia of the heavenly Christ, are impossible of acceptance by those who have received the Apostolic witness of Jesus in the glory of his transfiguration.

Jude, again, has no direct statement of the intruders' denial of the Christian hope of the Parousia. We should expect this denial as being a common feature in the other New Testament descriptions of errorists similar to those denounced in Jude. And we may find intimations of it in the countervailing stress upon the hope of the Parousia in the opening salutation, in the central exhortation and in the concluding doxology. The readers are kept, vs. 1, unto Jesus Christ: the reference being to the recurring New Testament teaching of preservation unto the coming of the Lord, I Pet. 1, 4 f.; I Thess. 5, 23; I Cor. 1, 7–9; cp. John 17, 11. In the exhortation, vs. 21, they are to keep themselves in the love of God while looking for the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ, *i. e.*, 'which he will show at his coming,' unto eternal life. The doxology, vs. 24, likewise is to him that is able to guard them from stumbling and to set them before the presence of his glory. On the other hand, the repeated references to past divine judgments and to prophecies of judgment to come, could be the writer's method of rejoinder to those who along with their impiety and immorality denied a Parousia and world-judgment.[56] They are further described as mockers, vs. 18, and as predicted in Apostolic teachings concerning 'the last time.' And with Mayor we can recognize the subject of their mocking from the account already given of them: with their libertinism, boast of enlightenment, contempt for authority, denial of God and Christ, 'they would naturally laugh at the idea of a judgment.'

This conjectural construction of their attitude to the Last Things is supported by the development in II Peter of this passage concerning the predicted and now present mocking, Jude 18, as mockery of the Parousia, chap. 3. It appears here as a challenge supported by the delay of the promised coming; and besides this popular form, as an argued conclusion from the unchanging course of the created world. This latter objection could be made at the earliest preaching of the Parousia. It is already met and repudiated in Rom. 8, 18–25. It is here repelled by recalling that the unchanging continuance of nature is disproved by the Genesis

[56] The commentaries illustrate the intruders' walk in the way of Cain from the Jerusalem Targum, Gen. 4, 7, in which Cain says: There is no judgment, no judge, no coming age, no reward to the righteous, no vengeance upon the wicked.

teachings that once the world was not, and once was destroyed in a world catastrophe and world judgment, as now is predicted in Christian eschatology. The other objection from the death of the fathers, vs. 4, could be pressed with the passing of the first Christian generation from 60 A. D. onwards, without the fulfillment of the primitive hope of the Coming. It is met by the reminder, vs. 8, that 'measures of time have relation to man, not to God'; and also by the assurance that the delay is the expression of the divine long-suffering in the hope of the world's repentance. The discussion closes with a reiteration of the primitive eschatology, vss. 10 ff., and with this as an inspiration to all holy living and godliness.

It is indeed the threatening danger to Christian morality from the intruders' principles and practices, which is naturally a principle if not the central interest in both these pastoral Letters. Their sexual impurity is exposed in the references to their immoral conduct; and in all the various allusions it is seen to be a libertinism deliberately practiced on the principles of their system of error. Jude's initial denunciation of their licentiousness refers to it as a perversion of grace, and links it with their denial of the faith in Christ. II Pet. 2, 18–22, explains that this perversion grows out of a boast and promise of freedom: an antinomian emancipation issuing in a slavery to lusts. In both Epistles their unnatural sexual vices are pointedly connected with a gnosis which reduces those claiming to be pneumatics to, or beneath, the level of unreasoning psychic beasts. Their separatist spirit in the Agapæ and in their own private meetings is likewise the occasion for impure influences and shameful practices. And on the probable view of the several examples and predictions of divine judgments as antithetical to their denial of a world judgment, the sins resulting from their scoffing at it, are the sexual sins of the Jews in the wilderness, cp. I Cor. 10, 5–11, of the angels of Gen. 6, and of Sodom. The method of counteracting this immorality also points to its basis in their false teaching. It is met by exhortation to loyalty to Apostolic commandment and tradition; to advance in true gnosis by the practice of Christian morality and piety; by the warning that acceptance of the false doctrine of emancipation will lead to a last state worse than their pre-Christian immorality; and by the warnings from Old Testament

examples, of judgment on perversions of divine grace and on neglect of predictions of judgment.

The claim of freedom of the Spirit and of gnosis which determined their independence of the Apostolic faith, hope and moral walk in love, emerges also in their attitude to Church order. Besides its manifestation in their divisive spirit in the Agapæ, it is expressed also in the spirit of Korah, murmuring and complaining against the authority of the Church and its ministry, Jude 11.16. Bigg and Chase find a similar reference to the Church rulers in the δόξας against whom the intruders rail, Jude 8, II Peter 2, 10; and Chase supported by post-Reformation expositors regards κυριότης as expressing the abstract principle of authority. But the combination of the two terms and their connection with the passage concerning Michael, from the Assumption of Moses, is recognized by the majority of commentators as pointing to the intruders' attitude of contempt for the powers of the invisible world. Among the widely divergent interpretations of the two objects of their repudiation, we may accept the more usual reference of κυριότης to Jesus' divine lordship as in vs. 4. If, next, with von Soden and others we understand δόξας to refer to holy angels, we are able to eliminate a supposed reference to the errorists' scornful denial of being influenced by evil angels, whose existence or power they deny; or to their possession of secret gnostic formulæ enabling them to rise beyond the successive ranks of the current angelic hierarchy; or to the late, Carpocratian doctrine of supremacy over the angelic makers of the world, *Iren. Adv. Hær.*, 1.25. It, however, still remains uncertain, in view of the many developments of the current angelology, what was the special character of their contempt for the angelic powers as these were regarded in the Church. Among the several suggestions offered in Mayor and Werdermann, p. 30 ff., it may have been antinomian contempt for angels as mediating the giving of the Law, whose commandments they transgress on principle; or in connection with Jude's quotation from Enoch of the coming of the Lord with his myriads of holy ones, their setting aside of the Parousia of the Lord Jesus with the glory of his Father and of the holy angels, Luke 9, 26; Mtw. 25, 31, and their parallels. It may, however, be possible that δόξας in combination here with Jesus' κυριότης, refers as in I Pet. 1, 12, to the glorification, heav-

enly ministry and the coming in glory of the incarnate Lord, which follow his redemptive sufferings. Yet whatever interpretation be adopted, there is no question that their denial and railing rests on their boast of freedom in their gift of gnosis.

This general construction of the characteristics of the errorists in their independence of the Apostolic faith, their rejection of Christian morals and hope, their divisive spirit in the Church fellowship and their repudiation of its order and ministry, is supported by the summary description of them in Jude 11 in his comparison of them with Cain, Balaam and Korah. Their walk in the way of Cain is illustrated in the current conceptions of him as reported in the Philo passages cited from Siegfried by Windisch and Mayor, as a symbol of skepticism; 'sunk in the world of sense, a polemical sophist, spiritually dead.' This would express their impious opposition to God and divine truth, and their sensual immorality. The Targum of the Cain passage already cited would likewise point to their denial of the final judgment. In Heb. 11, 4, he is contrasted with Abel, whose faith and righteousness are declared, and whose life and speaking after death is in a singular contrast to Cain's denial of a future life, according to the Targum. Similarly in I John 3, 12, Cain was of the evil one; his works are evil; and in vs. 11 in antithesis to the Church's fellowship in brotherly love, he slew his brother. The definite method of propaganda of those who thus walk in the way of Cain is denounced as a giving themselves to the error of Balaam. For like him they were corrupted to become false prophets for gain, to lead God's people to mingle with idolatry, and to indulge in fornication. As in I Cor. 10, 5–11, the description is completed with the comparison of their rejection of the Church order and its representatives, to the gainsaying of Korah against Moses and Aaron.

The absence of reference to the errorists' doctrine of creation and to denial of a resurrection body, which would be the outcome of the dualistic allusions found by Moffatt, *Introd.* p., 353, Werdermann, p. 93 f. and Bleek-Mangold, 1875, p. 645, would be sufficiently accounted for by the compressed character of Jude and by the interest of both Jude and II Peter in the controlling general features of the false teaching. Omission of mention of asceticism could be due to the absence of this feature from the special form of the hydra-headed gnostic system here propagated. There is also, how-

ever, the possibility that it could emerge as elsewhere, in here unrecorded forms of contempt of the psychical nature by those who boast to be pneumatics.

From this study of the direct references and of the possible allusions to the positions of the errorists combatted, we conclude that while their immorality and abuse of the agapæ are the chief objects of the writers' denunciations and warnings, yet these features of the movement are the outcome of their perversion of the Church's fundamental faith, hope and fellowship, and rest on the boasts of emancipating gnosis. Further, as Zahn, Lütgert, Hollmann and Werdermann agree, all these features already appear in the opposition of the errorists at Corinth; and we have found them reappearing in all the Pauline Epistles after Galatians as well as in Hebrews and I Peter.[57] We fail also to detect in Jude and II Peter any indications that the opposing error betrays the special characteristics of gnostic systems as developed in the second century. Werdermann, p. 138, shows that of five essential features of the Carpocratian system, to which since Clement of Alexandria our two Epistles are alleged to refer, only one is common: 'antinomianism combined with contempt for angelic powers.' Antinomianism is no proof of identity with this special gnostic sect, inasmuch as we have found it to be a constant element among all the errorists since their emergence in the Thessalonian Epistles; and the contempt of angels, which has been found in Jude and II Peter, has by no means a central position, such as it has in Carpocrates. It can be, as already suggested, an accompaniment of either of the constant features of the earliest form of gnosticism, antinomianism and denial of Christian eschatology.

So far therefore as the date and genuineness of the two Epistles are affected by the character of the error opposed, we have met with nothing while restricting our attention to it, to prevent a view of their publication at any time from the seventh decade onward, in the lifetime of the writers whose names they bear. Werdermann, who regards II Peter as pseudonymous and who assigns both Epistles to a date about 80 A. D., nevertheless concludes that

[57] Werdermann compares the errorists of Jude and II Peter with those in the N. T. Epistles in pp. 124–135. See also Mayor's commentary on Jude and II Peter, chap. XI: False teachers in the Church towards the end of the first century.

'such gnostics are historically possible just as well at 70 as at 150 A. D.' This first century dating will be still further supported by a comparison with the Johannine Epistles, which are assigned to its closing decade, and which we shall next briefly survey.

THE FIRST EPISTLE OF JOHN

The First Epistle of John is written for the establishment of readers who have already overcome an attack on their Christian faith and life. 'It is a specimen of Apostolic preaching to believers, a masterpiece in the art of edification. The Apostle sought in the strengthening and purifying of the spirit of love, the prophylactic for the Church against intellectual error.[58] Similarly, Law, 'although explicit controversial allusions in the Epistle are few, are limited indeed to two passages, 2, 18 f., 4, 1 ff., in which certain false teachers designated as antichrists are unsparingly denounced, there is no New Testament writing which is more vigorously polemical in its whole tone and aim.' [59]

The character of the error attacked could in large measure be reconstructed from the contents and literary structure of the opening section 1, 1–2, 17, with the help of the recurring phrases, 'If we say,' 'I write,' 'By this we know,' 'He who says,' and by the contrasts in the parallel statements. And the validity of this method, which we have elsewhere applied would be supported by the succeeding references. We shall begin, however, with the direct description in 2, 18 ff. of 'those who deceive you,' vs. 26. As in the Paulines, II Peter and Jude, their appearance is a fulfillment of the Gospel predictions of false prophets in the last times. Their attack has indeed been repelled: 'ye have overcome them,' 4, 4; and their withdrawal from the Church, 2, 19, can be regarded as due to their failure to draw away the readers, vss. 14–17, from the Apostolic tradition of the Gospel. Their reëntrance is barred by the injunction, II John. 10 f.: receive him not into your house and

[58] G. G. Findlay, *Fellowship in the Life Eternal*, pp. 59.50.

[59] R. Law, *The Tests of Life*, p. 25. A list of the works relating to this polemical element in I John is given by A. Wurm, *Die Irrlehrer im 1. Johannesbrief*, 1903. His own view is that the errorists are secularized Jewish Christians who have been led by Jewish taunts to regard Jesus as only a great prophet, and to elevate the Jewish Law above the Christian moral ideals. We shall, however, accept in general the construction of W. Lütgert, *Amt und Geist im Kampf*, 1911.

refuse him Christian greeting. The readers will naturally still be exposed to their influence and continued propaganda, which is therefore controverted in the Epistle in its controlling features. Here again, in connection with the practical religious aims of the writer, we have no delineation of the opposing system, but of its contradictions of the essential Christian positions.

Its fundamental doctrinal error, denial and lie concerns faith in Christ. The liar is he who denies that Jesus is the Christ, 2, 22. That such a denier is the antichrist, does not point, as Wurm argues, to Jewish rejection of Jesus' claims, but to a denial of the possibility of a real union of the heavenly Christ and the human Jesus. This appears in the fuller statements and consequences of their denials in the section against false prophets, 4, 1 ff. Paul in I Cor. 12, 1–3, has a similar reference: negatively, no one in the Spirit says Anathema Jesus; and no one is able to say Kurios Jesus but in the Holy Spirit. Here in I John, positively, the confession in the Spirit is 'Jesus as Christ come in the flesh'; whence the refusal of this confession is in itself a denial of Christ as really incarnate in Jesus.[60] The textual variant ὃ λύει Ἰησοῦν in vs. 3, he who annuls or divides Jesus, is regarded byZahn, *Introd.*, § 70, n. 6, as the probably original reading. If adopted, and especially with the addition in various manuscripts of Lord or Christ, it would express the mode of their denial more definitely as a dividing of heavenly Christ from Jesus: either on the theory of a literal and lifelong docetism and phantasm, or of a division before and after his public ministry. But even in our critical texts the denial of a real incarnation is plainly indicated; and it is to be further recognized in the succeeding section of the contrasted apostolic confession, 4, 7 ff.: Jesus as Christ come in the flesh, is the only begotten Son sent into the world that we might live through him.

In this denial of a real incarnation of the Son of God is included the denial of his real death and therefore of its redemptive power, especially when, as in the false teaching, there is a denial of sin and hence of any need of atonement. Consequently in the special sections rebutting the teachings of the false prophets, recur the opposing reaffirmations of the Apostolic gospel. The Son is sent to

[60] For this construction of 'Christ come in the flesh' as secondary predicate which is recognized as permissible by Westcott and Holtzmann and which is adopted by Law, following Haupt, see Law, p. 94, note, and Findlay, p. 317 f.

be the Saviour of the world, 4, 14; was manifested, 3, 5, to take away sins; was sent to be the propitiation for the sins of the whole world, 4, 10; 2, 2; whence our sins are forgiven for his name's sake, 2, 12, since he laid down his life on our behalf, 3, 16. And it is the blood of Jesus, God's Son, which cleanses us from all sin, 2, 7; for in 5, 6, he came not in the water only, but in the water and in the blood.

These representative christological statements are recognized by the majority of scholars as directed against some form of gnostic docetism and its accompanying rejection of a redemptive death of the Christ. Frequently Cerinthus, with whom tradition connects John, is regarded as the leader of the opposing movement; although this Epistle assumes groups of false prophets rather than a definite leader of the errorists; and further, these doctrinal errors have been found to be the fundamental principles of the false teachers attacked in the earlier Pauline Epistles. The exact form of the docetic doctrine in I John is still debated. Lütgert, pp. 10 ff. and 45, maintains that it was docetism in the full literal sense: denial of the reality of the body, the flesh, the death of Christ, who was regarded only as a theophany. On the contrary, and in agreement with Moffatt and Zahn, we find in connection with 5, 6 f., a reference to a theory of some temporary union of the heavenly Christ with Jesus from his baptism until the assumed abandonment before his passion, thus depriving his death on the cross of significance as a redeeming ministry of the divine Christ.

Besides this perversion of the fundamental faith, the errorists are equally opposed to the Christian hope of the Parousia. Denial that Jesus is Christ is itself a denial of his coming as Messiah in glory at a general resurrection with its accompanying world-judgment. Hence in 2, 28–3, 3, following the discussion of the denial of Jesus' messiahship, the form of the references to his manifestation and to our boldness in his Parousia, when we shall be like him and see him as he is, is viewed by Knopf, Lütgert and others, as occasioned by the rejection of this hope by those who deny that he is Christ, the Son of God come in the flesh. But establishment against these errors concerning Christian faith and hope is not sought to be effected by the method of discussion of the opposing system. The various 'Tests,' around which Law has grouped his exposition of the Epistle, by which we know the Spirit of truth and

the spirit of error, are based on conformity with the Apostolic tradition of the Gospel, 1, 1–4: the witness concerning the reality of the manifestation of the Word of life, both in his earthly ministry, in his resurrection appearances when 'our hands have handled him,' and in the personal experience of direct fellowship of believers in him, with the Father and with his Son.

The allusions to denial of the Parousia, 3, 3, closed with the constant New Testament statement that the Christian hope of glory is the effective inspiration of Christian morals; and the immediately ensuing section of warning against deception concerning freedom to sin, shows that the christological error was linked with false doctrine as to Christian morality. The contents and structure of the whole Epistle likewise show that it is directed against these two errors. Häring analyzes it into three sections beginning at 1, 5; 2, 18; and 4, 7, each in two divisions of discussion of the ethical and christological theses, which advances from their separate treatment in the first section, to their connection and finally to the basis of their inseparability.[61] Wurm also clearly shows, pp. 129 ff. that for the practical pastoral aims of the writer, the moral error was the more pressing danger; especially 'as it appears to be perfectly plain that every believer knows that the denial of Jesus as the Christ is a lie,' cp. also 2, 14; 4, 4.

It is, however, frequently denied that the immoral teaching is the outcome of the christological error, as by Zahn, *Introd.*, III, 363, who finds a lack of every trace and intimation of connection between the ethical discussions and the statements concerning the Person of Christ; and further, that the ethical injunctions are not directed against immorality on a theoretical basis. Even when the two errors are ascribed to the same system of teaching, it is often denied, as by Wurm, that the immorality is opposed as being founded on an antinomian theory; and still more frequently is it denied that the immorality refers to sensual libertinism.[62]

[61] Th. Häring, Gedankengang und Grundegedanke des 1. Johannesbriefs, in *Theolog. Abhandlungen zum C. Weizsäcker*, pp. 173–200. Law, *Tests of Life*, p. 24, finds this analysis to be on precisely the same lines as his own in three cycles, pp. 5–24, although he considers preferable his own division of the ethical test into that of righteousness and love.

[62] Windisch, *Hbuch. z. N. T.*, IV, 2, pp. 111, 117, 122, is undecided as to the identity of origin of the two errors; and while admitting the possibility that the ethical error may be antinomian in character, denies in any case a

We believe on the other hand with the scholars listed by Wurm, p. 128, to whom are to be added, Häring, Law, Lütgert and Moffatt, that the moral and christological errors belonged to one system of false gnosticizing teaching. We can also recognize with Lütgert, p. 22, that the emphasis on the 'commandment,' which occurs in I John 14 times, oftener indeed than in any other New Testament writing, is due like the similar stress on good works in the Pastorals, to the Apostle's antagonism to an immorality on antinomian principles. When the errorists teach that for those endowed with the Spirit's gift of freedom, disobedience to any moral command is not sin, he asserts both that all unrighteousness is sin, 5, 17, and also 3, 4, that every one that doeth sin doeth also lawlessness. And he adds 'and sin is lawlessness,' where 'ἀνομία evidently signifies a heightening of sin: the conscious rejection of law on principle, or antinomianism.' The fact that the immorality opposed is practiced on this principle of false emancipation, appears in all the numerous passages concerning unrighteousness and lack of love. These are not warnings against sins of the readers due, in the view of earlier commentators, to declension in faith and to flagging love. Wurm, p. 88, has collected the passages in which the Apostle attests the high standard of their Christian life; and as he states, we can hardly cite a Pauline church to which its founder pays so great a tribute of recognition. The warnings against unrighteousness must therefore be directed against the false prophets whose denials of Jesus as the Christ are accompanied with rejection of the moral teachings of the Gospel, manifested in their unrighteousness of life which they claim as the privilege of their gift of freedom.

R. Law in discussing, Chap. XI, the Tests of Righteousness in the section 2, 29–3, 10, finds that the clear implication of 'Little children let no man deceive you: he that doeth righteousness is righteous' and of the related passages, is 'that there were persons who taught the contrary doctrine: that one may be truly righteous apart from doing of righteous deeds, and that on the other hand,

reference to sins of impurity. Westcott holds that 'teaching of the Epistle turns upon the Person of Christ. The false teaching with which it deals is Docetic and specifically Cerinthian.' In his introduction, p. xxxvii, he evidently regards the moral injunctions not as occasioned by false christology, but by the delusion that intellectual assent apart from conduct, is sufficient.

the mere doing of sinful acts is no disproof of inward spirituality, nor incompatible with the status of divine sonship,' p. 219. Against their claims to be born of God, to know God, to have fellowship with him, to abide in him, to have his Spirit, and also that for them law does not obtain, the writer asserts that God who begets is righteous, is pure, is light, is love. He therefore that is born of God, doth not sin, 3, 9, because his seed abideth in him; and in contradiction to the errorists' claim, 'cannot sin,' cp. Law, pp. 225–228, but walks in the light as he is in the light, walks as Christ the righteous walked, purifieth himself as he is pure, doeth righteousness as he is righteous. Hereby we know that we know him, if we keep his commandments, in antithesis to the errorists' claim to freedom and perfection in their gnosis, which is refuted in the opening discussion, 1, 5–2, 6.

Such a system, lacking the inspiration of the love of God revealed in Christ's incarnation and death, cp. Rom. 5, 5–11, rejecting too the claims of obedience to any external authority, even to the moral teachings of the Gospel, boasting of perfection apart from conformity to any commands of righteousness and love, would obviously break down the barriers against all forms of immorality. Hence there is a valid presumption that it would lead to sensual sins of libertinism, which have been found to be characteristic of similar errorists in the earlier Epistles. This presumption nevertheless, as already stated, is very generally opposed; and principally on the ground that no direct statements in regard to sins of impurity are made. Yet this is not decisive, in view of the Epistle's general method of recurring emphasis on a few controlling principles and characteristics. There are, moreover, two passages in which allusion to sensual sins have been found. In 2, 15–17, as recognized by Lütgert, Wurm and others, a reference is made to errorists in contrast to the faithful children of vss. 12–14. They have not the love of the Father but of the world. And specifically this love of the things that are in the world, includes the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes and the vaunting of earthly possessions. The interpretation of this threefold description ranges from a general view, as by Westcott, that it covers the whole ground of worldliness and would not therefore specially characterize the false teachers nor emphasize their sensual sins, to the view of a concrete threefold reference, as by Holtzmann, to lewdness,

to pleasure in immoral exhibitions, referring to Tertullian *de spectaculis* 7, and to ostentatious display of wealth. Holtzmann also further generalizes these references as the most repulsive degree of sin, as cultus of the beautiful rather than religion, and as the life of illusion.

Lütgert, p. 34, interprets them concretely and also applies them to the errorists: to their libertinism, to their attendance at theatrical and similar enticing exhibitions, and to their vaunting of worldly possessions on the ground of their freedom in the enjoyment of nature, art and wealth. But whatever specific interpretation may be adopted of the last two in the series, it seems clear that lust of the flesh refers to sensual sins of the errorists. It cannot simply sum up in general the sins of the unregenerate man,[63] since it is distinguished from, and not analyzed into, other forms of fleshly sin. It is a special form of the sin of those who 'went out from us' into the world; who are of the world; who love the things in the world, of which the lust of the flesh, in view of the constant New Testament denunciations of the prevailing contemporary impurity, naturally refers to their sensual sins. The closing words 'guard yourselves from idols,' point to the same conclusion. They involve more than a mere warning against idolatry, towards which the Christian readers surely had no tendency. They are on the contrary a solemn injunction against the practice of the false teachers claiming freedom to attend the heathen feasts and to indulge in the sensuality connected with them, as Paul had warned his readers in I Cor. 10, 6–14.

One other marked feature of the errorists was their disregard of the Christian fellowship. Their system was essentially disruptive. They had indeed already 'gone out from us'; and this departure and their continued propagation from without of their christological and ethical errors, involved a repudiation of the authority of the Gospel tradition and of its Apostolic ministry in the fellowship

[63] Wurm's construction of the errorists as retrograding secularized Jewish Christians, compels him to deny that they were antinomian libertines. He therefore develops, pp. 116–121, the view which Wendt, *Die Begriffe Fleisch und Geist*, p. 68, considers more probable: that the lust of the flesh refers not to specific sensual sins, but generally to desires of the unspiritual man as belonging to the earthly sphere; and further, with Wendt, that this lust is the higher concept under which are subsumed desires for worldly recognition and possessions and the boastful display of them.

of believers. Hence the initial emphasis, 1, 3–7, on fellowship with those who preach the Gospel of the incarnation and the moral walk in light. For in this fellowship is fellowship with the Father and the Son, based upon the propitiation of Jesus Christ for the sins of the whole world, in contrast to the exclusiveness of the false teachers. And all through the Epistle this fellowship is manifested in the love of the brethren. The interest of the writer to counteract the divisive influence arising from the several denials of the system of error, is to be seen in the fact that fellowship is the unifying topic of the Epistle. Following Moffatt, *Introd.*, p. 584, who regards its plan as unstudied, as variations on one or two simple themes, we notice that Christian fellowship is the subject, whose definition is given in 1, 1 ff. Its conditions are outlined in the antitheses of light and darkness, as a sense of sin and forgiveness and as obedience to the law of brotherly love, 1, 5 ff. The dangers which threaten the existence of any fellowship with God or man, are shown to inhere in the heretical view of Christ's person, 2, 18 ff. The characteristics of fellowship as sinlessness and brotherly love are developed in 3, 1–5, 12; and the epilogue, 5, 13 ff. 'specially notes the danger of lapsing and the treatment of the *lapsi*' *i. e.*, from the Christian fellowship.

'While the Christian society is everywhere contemplated in its definite spiritual completeness, nothing is said on any detail of ritual or organization,' Westcott, p. *xxviii*. In the face of teachings subversive of fellowship with God in one human brotherhood in which is ministered the Apostolic faith, hope and moral life of love, the writer is intent on the establishment of the faithful in these fundamental principles of Christian fellowship and in their manifestation in the Christian life of purity and united devotion of love to God, to their brethren and to the world whose propitiation and Saviour is the incarnate Christ.

The errorists indeed, while repudiating the Apostolic fellowship, claim for themselves 1, 6, a direct, exclusive fellowship with the Father and a walk in light. In the constantly recurring references to 'knowing,' in the rebuttals of positions introduced by 'if we say,' 'he who says' and in the tests and assurances of truth and life, we note that both this claim of divine fellowship and their denials of the Apostolic teachings are assailed as resting on a false system of an exclusive gnosis. Their perversions of the faith in the

revelation of God in Christ as he is preached in the Church's Gospel, cp. II Cor. 4, 3–6, are based on the claim to know God directly, 2, 3–6. Rejection of the Christian hope of seeing Christ as he is, when he shall be manifested; of our being then like him with glorified bodies, as in Philippians 3, 21; as well as their false security in denials of a day of judgment, is the outcome of their boasts of already seeing God in their visions and revelations, 3, 6; 4, 12.20. Immorality and unrighteousness cloaked under the assertions that they have no sin and are walking in the light, is an antinomianism which claims the possession of the Spirit as their sole authority for conduct. And similarly, repudiation of Christian fellowship is justified by them in their opposing boasts of fellowship with God, of birth from God and of abiding in God through their gift of his indwelling Spirit.

And therefore these outstanding characteristics of the system are denounced throughout the Epistle as the issues of a spurious gnosis. As regards the finality of the revelation of God in Christ, its teaching is error, a lie, is not of the truth; and instead of being inspired by God's Spirit, it makes him a liar and rejects the witness he has given concerning his Son, 5, 10 f. Its rejection of Christian eschatology, because of its present visions, revelations and sight of God, is in truth, like their hatred of the brethren, blindness not sight, 2, 11; and blindness 'as a complete ignorance of the way and end of life': he knoweth not whither he goeth. The immoral walk in this darkness is exposed repeatedly as occasioned by spurious claims of gnosis by teachers and false prophets who in 4, 1 ff. are in reality not illuminated by the Spirit of God, but by the spirit of error. The manifestations of that spirit reveal therefore that instead of being in fellowship with God, they are sons of the devil, are of the world, are not of the Father and of the truth; and hence are without brotherly love towards his children; and 'hear not us,' the preachers of the Apostolic Gospel, whose fellowship is with the Father and with his Son Jesus Christ.

The system is met, as in earlier Epistles, not only by the method of exposure and of confident appeal to the unchanging validity and power of the primitive Gospel, but also by emphasis on the possession and development of true gnosis of the divine revelation, in

the Christian life.[64] The readers 'know' that they are born of God, abide in him and he in them; and they know this by the Spirit he has given them, 3, 24. For the seed which abides in them, 3, 9, is with Holtzmann and Westcott, the germ of a new life by the creative power of the Spirit through the word of God, cp. 2, 14. In 2, 20.27 with this gift of the Spirit is an anointing, χρίσμα, a principle of illumination as in Ephes. 1, 17 ff., as the characteristic endowment of all Christians; a gift from Christ the Holy One, whom God anointed with the Holy Spirit and power, Acts 10, 38. While the errorists, 2, 23 ,in their denial of the Son have not the Father and are therefore without the true illumination of his anointing, the readers on the contrary need not that any, especially the errorists, teach them, since the anointing teaches them concerning all things.

Among other passages, 4, 13 ff. renews the teaching of the earlier Epistles regarding the development of faith in Jesus as Son of God and Saviour of the world, in gnosis of God's love manifested in a life of obedience and brotherly love, as the condition of our abiding in God, of our perfecting and therefore of our boldness in the day of Judgment. We have also two threefold summaries of the 'fundamental features of this true gnosis,' Holtzmann. In 5, 18 f. the specific moral character and purpose of the revelation of redemption is expressed in the statement that we know that he that is begotten of God sinneth not; keepeth himself, as Holtzmann, Law, Windisch, etc., interpret; or with Westcott, that Christ who was begotten of God keepeth him. In either case the evil one toucheth him not. Next we know in this life of moral obedience that we are born of God, in contrast to the world which is opposed to the Christian society and which 'is in the domain and under the influence of the evil one.' And these two features of knowledge, vss. 18 and 19, of direct certainty of life in God and of God in us, are based in vs. 20 upon our knowledge, personal experience and faith that the Son of God is come, and upon his spiritual gift of 'an understanding that we may know him that is

[64] Moffatt, *Introd.*, p. 587. 'The evident care and caution in rejecting these semi-gnostic views is thrown into relief by the fact that he and his fellow-Christians were themselves breathing and enjoying an atmosphere of such mystical conceptions. Christianity involves the historical Jesus, but none the less is it a gnosis.'

true; and we are in him that is true even in his Son Jesus Christ.

We have also in 2, 12 f. a similar description of a true gnostic. The 'little children,' vs. 14, have known the Father; and in the parallel vs. 12 this gnosis is primarily their direct certainty of salvation: the Father's love is manifested in the forgiveness of their sins for his name's sake, 'the fundamental principle of development of the Christian life.' Among these children, the fathers have known him who is from the beginning: have stood firm in faith and gnosis of Jesus Christ as Son of God, 1, 1–4, repelling the false christology of the errorists. The young men are strong, both because the word of God preached by its Apostolic witnesses abides in them as the source of their strength, and also because, 4, 5 f., greater is he, the Spirit of truth that is in them than the spirit of error. Their strength is seen in their overcoming the evil one attacking them in the immoral teachings and doctrinal errors of the antichrists. Both of these descriptions are especially concerned with the relation of true gnosis to faith in Christ and to keeping his commandment of love fulfilling all law; and as has appeared in the preceding references, this relation involves also the connection of gnosis with the Christian hope, 2, 28 ff.; 4, 16, as the animation of the moral life of love of believers united in brotherhood and fellowship with the witnesses of the Apostolic Gospel, 1, 6–8; 4, 6.7.

In this construction of the general features of the system opposed in I John, we can thus mark that the method of exposing and refuting it is precisely similar to the defense and polemic against the errorists in earlier Epistles. We can also recognize with Lütgert, p. 47 f., that the characteristic features of the errorists in I John have appeared with increasing distinctness in the New Testament Epistles from I Thess. onwards: docetic christology, leading to denials of an incarnation and a redemptive death; to rejection also of the Christian eschatology, along with the claim of present possession of the eschatological blessings, in their gifts of the Spirit; a resulting antinomian emancipation from the authority of the moral teachings of the Gospel; and a spirit of division, exclusiveness, unbrotherly contempt and rejection of fellowship with the Apostolic Church, as the outcome of boasts of superior individual gifts of gnosis, visions and revelations.

Owing to its method of constant repetition and interweaving of a few dominating themes, and in part to its definite practical aims, the Epistle does not enable us to determine whether some special features found in earlier New Testament references to the gnostic movement, were also found in the teaching it opposed. The absence of allusion to the asceticism which is found along with libertinism in several previous Epistles, points most naturally as suggested in connection with Jude and II Peter, to the supposition that this type of the varied forms of gnosticism was not then propagated in the Apostle's circle. Angelic or other series of gnostic mediators receive no mention. But this silence is not conclusive as to presence of this element in the system combatted. It would be a characteristic of the method of the writer, simply to set aside such a teaching by emphasizing, cp. 5, 10–12, the sole mediation of Christ in revelation and redemption as the word of life, the propitiation and the Saviour of the world; and as in 1, 3 to affirm our direct fellowship with the Father and his Son. It is conceivable therefore that this speculation, which is found before and after I John, was also a part of gnostic theory of that period. There are, further, as Wurm shows, pp. 1–8, not sufficient data in the Epistle to indicate a special dualistic doctrine of God in relation to creation. Whether the errorists, as in Corinth, were from some Jewish syncretistic group, does not appear from this Epistle; although it might not unreasonably be so concluded from the references in the Revelation of John, which next claims our study.

THE REVELATION OF JOHN

Among the divergent views concerning the literary criticism and interpretation of the Revelation of John, there is agreement in general that its aim is to establish its readers in the hope of the consummation of the Kingdom at the coming in glory of the victorious Christ; and that its occasion was the persecution of the Church by the opposing world empire of Rome. Along with this external danger, there is also recognized the danger within the Church from the presence of the errorists denounced in the Seven Epistles of chapters 2 and 3. As held by Hoennicke, *Jud. Christm*, p. 135, and as Bousset states, *Kommentar*, p. 278, their activity in Ephesus, Pergamum and Thyatira seems to point to a single

movement: 'by the false prophets of 2, 2, the Nicolaitans of 2, 8, 15, the didache of Balaam, 2, 14, the prophetess Jezebel, 2, 14, who likewise teaches and deceives Christ's servants to commit fornication and to eat things sacrificed to idols, the same class is probably intended.' In his view, however, these false teachers are not only not representatives of the later, developed gnostic systems, but are also not concerned with speculation, as the errorists in Jude and II Peter. To him, on the contrary, they are leaders of a libertine movement of heathen converts associating with, and conforming to, the conduct of the surrounding heathen society. Hoennicke, p. 136, refers their views and conduct to syncretistic influences, and holds definitely that they had nothing to do with the errors with whom Paul had earlier been in conflict.

We hold, however, with Bacon, *Introd.*, p. 241 f., that 'the heretical antagonists are of the same type as those antagonized by Paul in the same region, Jewish, theosophical, antinomian, but now clearly differentiated and named. John confronts the same heresies with the same figures.' As Bacon states that John too antagonized an ascetic theosophy, we understood from his reference to Col. 2, 8–23 that he views the opponents in the Revelation as also maintaining christological errors. Moffatt on the other hand considers that the errorists of Rev. 2 and 3 'show no definitely christological traits,' *Introd.*, p. 588; and McGiffert too states, *Apos. Age*, p. 625, 'that there is no hint that they were also docetic in their view; their error seems to have been only practical.'

But we do not find that this restriction of their activity to error in morality is supported by the data of the Seven Letters or by the structure of the Book as a whole. The christological tenets of the false teachers and definitely docetism are not in fact presented; and this because no direct delineation of their system is given. It can nevertheless be recognized in its essential outlines, from its connection with the framework, interests and contents of the Letters expressly concerned with the errorists. All the Letters are dominated by a christological and eschatological interest; and in the three Epistles in which the errorists appear, their works are specifically contrasted with the works of the faithful members of the Churches; their false-apostolic teaching and ministry, their didache and their false prophecy are likewise opposed to the Church's Apostolic tradition, didache and prophecy. Their

attitude to the christological and eschatological affirmations with which the Letters open and close, is further illuminated by the character and aims of the features of the salutation and Christophany in the opening chapter, from which the self-descriptions of Christ in the Seven Epistles are taken.

Upon our separate examination of the three Letters in which the errorists appear, we shall find that their works issue from a definite system of teaching. For, first, the propagators of the movement in Ephesus claim to be apostles. The title expresses their profession of authority to present the Gospel in its general character and doctrines. In the statement that they are found to be liars is expressed the decision that their gospel was in opposition to the historic witness of the Gospel in the Apostolic preaching and ministry concerning the person and work of Christ. The same decision appears in the polemic of II Cor. 11: 'those superlative apostles, fashioning themselves into apostles of Christ, preach, vs. 4, another Jesus whom we did not preach; and ye are receiving a different spirit, which ye did not receive or a different gospel which ye did not accept,' cp. Plummer *in loco*. Next we may notice that the Ephesians' 'testing' of their claims is not simply in regard to their immorality. That, in 2, 2 a, they are not able to bear. But the 'test' vs. 2 b, is as in II Cor. 13, 5: 'whether ye are in the faith'; and as in I John 4, 1–6, again in connection with the person of Christ: 'hereby know ye the Spirit of God: every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God.' It was as the result of this testing that the false apostles were found liars. This term in I John is applied to false teaching, and not only to claims of gnosis of God, disproved by not keeping his commandments, 2, 4, and to claims to love God, disproved by hatred of the brother; but also to the fundamental lie in I John 2, 21–27, of which immorality and hatred are the outcomes: 'who is the liar but he that denieth that Jesus is the Christ,' which is applied to the many antichrists, 2, 18 f., who have separated from the Church. Further, the opposition of the false apostles to the Church's christology is reflected in the reference to their works, which Christ hates, in contrast to his commendation of the Ephesians for their works, labor and patience. Bousset regards these Ephesian works as subdivided into the labor of opposing the errorists and into patience under persecution. But as he and most of the

commentators notice the parallel with I Thess. 1, 3, we may rather find in the threefold description a reference to their Christian faith and life in general, as in the other four Letters where 'knowing their works' is mentioned. Here then 'works' is used not simply in reference to the moral activities of the Ephesians, but it describes as in the Letter to Thyatira, their Christian character and life as expressed in works of faith, labor of love and patience of hope; and the contrasted hated works of the false apostles can therefore be judged to be the outward manifestation of their opposition to these fundamental elements of the life of faith in Christ.

In the Letter to Pergamum, these Nicolaitan false apostles are found to have a definite system of teaching: the didache of Balaam. Its characterizing feature is the practical immorality of eating heathen sacrificial food and fornication; and very generally, as stated, this is regarded as laxity due to heathen association, and not as a freedom based on speculative principles. The prominence given in the Letters to Pergamum and Thyatira to this feature of immorality is not however sufficient to justify the view that the Nicolaitans were simply libertines. The injunction, I John 5, 21, to 'guard yourselves from idols,' was found to point to a similar association with the immorality connected with heathen feasts; and as being the concluding injunction of that Epistle, it also emphasized such association as a characteristic of the errorists denounced in I John for their denials of the Church's christology and moral teaching. In Jude 4 and II Pet. 2, 1 f. libertinism is likewise asserted as a characterizing mark of the errorists; but it is there linked with their denial of the Lord who bought them, and definitely as in Pergamum that they followed the error of Balaam. When moreover as by Bousset these Seven Epistles are dated later than the succeeding chapters and therefore represent a later development, it is to be recalled that whatever their date they repeat Paul's description of gnosticizing errorists as typified by the idolatry and fornication into which Balaam led Israel in the wilderness, I Cor. 10, 6–8. When further their teaching is entitled a didache, with which may be compared in II Pet. 2, 15 the ὁδός of Balaam opposed to the εὐθεῖα ὁδός, we note that this term in II John refers to the general content of Christian instruction. For the many deceivers and antichrists of vs. 7 who have not the

didache of Christ, vss. 9, 10, are those who confess not that Jesus Christ cometh in the flesh, and those whose evil works, vs. 11, are in vss. 4–6 in disobedience to the commandment of love, heard from the beginning. And in I John 2, 27 the anointing from Christ which 'teaches you concerning all things' is contrasted with the teaching and lie of the deceivers and antichrists of 2, 18 ff.

In the Letter to Pergamum, as a contrasting introduction to the didache of Balaam, is given a description of the teaching received by the faithful, and it is in general doctrinal terms: they hold fast ' my name,' and even under persecution have not denied 'my faith.' Another indication of the general range of the false didache is that Christ will war against it with the sword of his mouth, 2, 16.12, the word of God, 19, 13–15, the whole revelation of God in Christ's person, teaching and work. The concluding promise to the victor is recognized to be directly related to the didache of the errorists, in so far as there appears to be an allusion to the contrast between idol food and the hidden manna.[65] The well-known obscurity of the second part of the promised blessing seems to be best illuminated by the theory advocated by Bousset and Swete, of a similar antithetical reference to a gnostic charm or amulet with a potent magical formula. In this case, with Swete, 'the white stone is the pledge of the Divine favour which carries with it such intimate knowledge of God and Christ as only the possessor can comprehend.' It would thus, as I Cor. 13, 12 and parallels, be the promise of knowing as we are known of God; of vision face to face. Where this interpretation is adopted, the didache of the Nicolaitans is seen finally to be not merely immoral teaching permitting heathen laxity of conduct, but a libertinism on antinomian principles of freedom by gnosis.

In the Letter to Thyatira the preceding indications of the definite system of error opposed, receive additional support. Along with the false apostles of Ephesus rejecting the Church's tradition and fellowship, and with the libertine didache at Pergamum

[65] Swete's interpretation of the hidden manna as 'the life-sustaining power of the Sacred Humanity now "hid with Christ in God" of which the faithful find a foretaste in the Eucharist,' recalls suggestively Paul's polemic against the pneumatics of Corinth, I Cor. 10, 14 ff., in which he contrasts communion with demons in the heathen sacrifices, vs. 20, with communion with the body and blood of Christ in vs. 16.

probably boasting in vs. 18 of a spurious gnosis, are found here in Thyatira the false prophets of the system. The conspicuous representative from the class of women converts of gnostic intruders which were found in the Pauline Epistles, is appropriately styled Jezebel. As a prophetess she of course claims special gifts of gnosis and revelation; of power and of independence, in her individual gifts, of all objective forms of authority. Her didache is described in the same terms as that of the Nicolaitans: fornication and eating of heathen sacrifice food; and its basis on a general doctrinal system appears in vs. 24. There, the boast of knowing the depths of Satan is not as Bousset holds, in seeking to minimize its significance, a mere excuse in justification of association with heathen immorality. It was a claim of gnosis of the deep things, and presumably as in I Cor. 2, 10 of the deep things of God. This in I Cor. 2, 6–16 includes gnosis of the fundamental truth of God revealing himself, his eternal purpose and his method of salvation in his incarnate and redeeming Son. And in antithesis to it, the Nicolaitan false prophecy is denounced as being in reality a gnosis of the deep things not of God but of Satan.

We might also regard the promise in 2, 27 of rule over the opposing nations to be, as perhaps all the promises to the victors, in antithesis to the boast of the opponents; and here, of their boast of already reigning in a kingdom already present without a Parousia of the heavenly Christ. The faithful on the contrary are assured of the coming fulfillment of this reign with Christ in his messianic Kingdom, cp. Psalm 2, 8 f., when as Bede interprets, Christ appears to them as the star of dawning of the eternal Day. Without discussing the possibility of further allusions to these errorists in the remaining Letters,[66] we may recall that the references to the false apostles with the didache of Balaam as false prophets with satanic gnosis, are to be read in all the Seven Churches. These references, moreover, have been found to involve far more than immorality due to heathen associations. And their indication of a definite system of libertinism based on false gnosis, prophecy and claims of apostolic authority would in general, as

[66] To Bousset, p. 279, 'it seems that in Sardis this movement although not named, had attained great influence.' If this conclusion is justified as accounting for the conditions in Sardis, it could equally account for the situation in Laodicea; cp. Lightfoot, *Colossians*, p. 44.

in I John, point also to opposition not only to Apostolic moral teaching and fellowship, but also to the Apostolic witness to the Person, Work and Parousia of Christ.

This general presentation finds support in various features of the structure of the Seven Letters and in their relation to the structure of the whole Apocalypse. In all the Letters emphasis on christology and eschatology is an integral feature. Each begins with an affirmation concerning the Person of Christ; and each concludes with a promise of blessing at his Parousia. The obvious suggestion that these promises are the natural encouragements in a situation of external persecution, does not account for all the facts. In possibly one-half of the Letters, there is no reference to external persecution. And in the three Letters in which the errorists are denounced, the eschatological promises are related to the internal dangers of their propaganda. To the Nicolaitan feeding on heathen sacrificial food is opposed in the Letter to Ephesus, the final blessing of feeding on the Tree of Life, and in the Letter to Pergamum, feeding on the Hidden Manna. Against the false prophecy in Thyatira boasting, as may be concluded from other New Testament descriptions of it, that by its gnosis it already enjoys the spiritual perfecting and power which Apostolic Christians awaited at the parousia, and that it was thereby superior to the didache and to the hope of a consummated Kingdom, I Cor. 4, 8 ff., is likewise emphasized the assurance of a still future victory and reign of the saints in the messianic Kingdom of glory. Thus intimately related to the principles of the errorists, the aim of the concluding promises in these three Letters and in the others as well, and of the whole revelation, would be the establishment of the readers in the Christian hope, both on the occasion of their need of it as a support in external trials, and also of denials of it in the internal false teachings.

On the view of the structure of the three Letters as unified by the central topic of internal dangers, the opening description of the glorified Christ would also be related to Nicolaitan perversions or denials of the primitive Apostolic christology. In Pergamum Christ will war against the Nicolaitans with the sword of his mouth, as whose possessor he describes himself in the opening statement. The judgments on Jezebel and her followers in Thya-

tira proceed from the Christ with the flaming eyes and feet of his self-description. In both cases the emphasis on his coming judgments is the appropriate warning against those whose immorality and didache rests on a prophetic gnosis which denies the primitive revelation, Parousia and judgment. To the Church of Ephesus the self-description of Christ is an assurance for the faithful of his immediate presence, rule and protection. And in connection with the succeeding interwoven references to Nicolaitan false apostles, it would serve to guard against any form of false christology denying his sole mediatorship and the unity of all believers in a common direct fellowship with their exalted Lord. Christological denials are also indicated in the body of the several Letters, when in contrast to the teaching of the errorists, the faithful are commended for holding and keeping my name, my word; not denying my name, my faith; keeping my word of patience, having patience and enduring because of my name: his self-revelation in his person, teaching and whole work of redemption.

Special features of this self-revelation directly related to the Church's situation amid dangers from without and within, serve as introductions to the several Letters. Since, however, they are selections from the presentation of Christ in the salutation and Christophany of the first chapter, we can there find the full positive christological affirmations, which whether so intended or not, do in fact confute the perverted christology of the gnosticizing errorists, which has been found emerging with increasing distinctness in the earlier New Testament writings. It is unquestionably true that in the opening chapter we have the constant Apostolic christology, with which any special situation could be met. It is the abiding word of God and the testimony of Jesus, 1, 3. The readers are to hold fast what they already have, 3, 11. But the employment of separate features of it in the several Letters to controvert opposing teaching or conduct issuing from it, suggests the same intention in the formulation, special emphases and amplifications in this presentation of Christ in the introductory chapter and vision.

In the salutation of grace from the Father, he is presented in a form of the Jehovah name, not only as 'he who is and was,' but also as 'he that cometh.' And that this is not intended as an equivalent of 'he that shall be,' is seen in 11, 17 f. where it is re-

produced as a coming to consummate the Kingdom with judgments and with rewards to his servants. In addition to this significant emphasis on eschatology, the opening salutation includes for the only time in the New Testament, grace from the sevenfold Spirit, whose gifts of the spirit of life, illumination and power are thus to be enjoyed by the whole body of the faithful. The interest of this addition could be related to its significance in the similar threefold closing exhortation at the conclusion of Paul's polemic against the pneumatics in Corinth, II Cor. 13, 13.

The usual 'grace from Jesus Christ' is also amplified. In II John 3, the addition to it of 'the Son of the Father in truth and love' is evidently in view of the denials by the antichrists in vss. 4–11. The same interest would be served by the development of the formula in Rev. 1. For with Hort and others, the threefold description in vs. 5a reaffirms Christ as the faithful witness, the complete and abiding revelation of God, in his earthly ministry; his resurrection as the first born of the dead; and the lordship of his heavenly exaltation over the kings of the earth. To this threefold description of the Christ, human and divine, corresponds the doxology for our experience of redemption by him, who in his earthly life, as the Witness in his revelation of the Father, loved us.[67] This is also John's concluding summary of Christ's ministry in the Gospel, 13, 1: Jesus knowing that his hour was come that he should depart out of this world unto the Father, having loved his own that were in the world, he loved them unto the end. Next, as the first born from the dead, 5 a, he washed us from our sins; and 'by his blood,' as repeatedly in the Apocalypse, recalling the emphasis in I John upon Christ's redemptive death, in the polemic against the errorists. Lastly, in Christ's heavenly lordship, 5 a, cp. Ephes. 1, 21.22, he has made us 'a kingdom, priests unto God': 'the Church redeemed by the blood of Christ constituted a holy nation, a new theocracy,' Swete, cp. I Pet. 2, 5 ff. and parallels. To these two threefold affirmations of Jesus

[67] This reading ἀγαπήσαντι of P, Primasius, etc., is supported by the aorist forms in the coördinate statements. Swete's preference for the present participle is based on his view that 'loosed,' etc., is subordinate as a crucial completed instance of the abiding love, and also on his interpretation of the witness of 5a as that given in the Apocalypse.

Christ's[68] revelation, redemption, lordship in the Church as a royal priesthood, is added the assurance: behold he cometh with the clouds, to judgment.

In the succeeding introductory vision of the heavenly Christ, 1, 12 ff., the christological and eschatological emphases in the salutation appear in the forms of apocalyptical symbolism, and as controlled by the primary interest in the coming of vs. 7. We have Christ's direct union with his Church and his life within it in the vision of his presence in the midst of the seven lampstands; and his protecting and guiding of the seven stars, the church-angels, held in his right hand. He himself is beheld in the heavenly transfiguration of his real humanity: as 'like unto a son of man.'[69] His heavenly priesthood is symbolized in his garment; his lordship, majesty, purity and power flashes from the head and hair white as wool and as snow, and from his face and countenance

[68] Since this title appears only here in the Apocalypse, Swete observes that as elsewhere the title Jesus stands alone, 'it may be the purpose of the writer to emphasize in this way the humanity of the glorified Christ and his identity with the historical Person who lived and suffered.'

[69] The possibility that this 'likeness' is not a mere form of literary description but a significant doctrinal phrase is suggested by two facts. Ὅμοιος in ordinary description is always used in the Apocalypse with the dative; but here and in 14, 14 alone, where it is used with the accusative, it is in the same phrase ὅμοιον υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου. Swete suggests that the ungrammatical form is due to the translation of Dan. 7, 13 which the writer employed. This could be a primitive collection of Old Testament messianic Testimonia, among which, as in Mtw. 24, 30 and parallels, this Daniel passage would be included. The other fact is that allusions to this phrase are found in several passages defending the reality of the incarnation and passion of Christ, and from the contexts presumably against docetic denials. In Hbws, 2, 14 ff. he shared with men blood and flesh and death, because, vs. 17, it behooved him κατὰ πάντα τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ὁμοιωθῆναι. The recapitulation of this in 4, 15 speaks of his temptation in all points καθ' ὁμοιότητα without sins, where with many commentators from Chrysostom to A. Seeberg, *Hb. bf.*, p. 50, cp. Westcott *in loco*, the likeness is not between our temptation and that of Christ, but is the likeness of Christ without sin, to ourselves. The incarnation and redemptive death are again expressed in Rom. 8, 3 in terms of 'likeness': God sent his own Son in ὁμοιώματι σαρκὸς ἁμαρτίας καὶ περὶ ἁμαρτίας; and similarly, Philippians 2, 8, he became ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπων, and became obedient to the death of the cross when he was found in σχήματι ὡς ἄνθρωπος.

shining as the sun in his strength. But most definitely he appears as the coming Judge of vs. 7. 'The terribleness of the voice is that with which he will rebuke his foes within the Church and without,' Trench, p. 60. The flaming eyes penetrate in judgment, the feet glowing like metal in the crucible, will execute the judgment, 19, 15, whose principles are the word of God proceeding like a sword out of his mouth.

In his own first words are bound together the topics of both the salutation and the Christophany. The divine nature of Jesus the Christ is expressed in the assertions, I am the first and the last, and the Living One. The real humanity, death and resurrection of this eternal Living one involves the reality of his abiding union with Jesus incarnate, dying and rising again, and points to the redeeming power of such a death and resurrection. His possession of the keys of death and Hades symbolizes succinctly his sovereignty in the coming judgment. And through the Spirit in his Apostle he reveals the mystery of the lampstands and stars to be his abiding presence and support of his Church amid the dangers from without and from within.

To this presentation of the Person and office of the Christ, the Seven Churches are recalled for encouragement, guidance and warning by the introductory self-descriptions in each Letter, of the heavenly Lord. Similarly in each Letter, the concluding promises of the blessings to be imparted at his Parousia are assured to the victors in the succeeding visions of the conflicts and triumphs of the Kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ until its consummation is realized in the final vision. While these promises are a direct encouragement of hope to sustain the readers amid external dangers, both the promises of the Letters and their prophetic revelation of the glorified Christ would also establish the faithful against the internal danger of denials of the Apostolic Gospel by the intruding errorists.

A special feature of error in the church circles addressed is often found in 19, 10 and 22, 8 f., where both Bousset and Swete observe a tendency to angel worship, as in Col. 2, 18. In such case, any related theory of special angelic revelation higher than that of the Gospel and prophecy of the Church is repelled by the angel's repeated rejection of worship and by his repeated assurance that he is but fellow servant with the New Testament prophets and with

the brethren possessing in the witness of Jesus, the gift of the Spirit. Any possible errors concerning angelic mediators is met throughout the Revelation by the constant representations of angelic subjection to Christ and his service, and also by the doxologies, in which angels join in 5, 11, for the sole lordship of Christ and his mediation in revelation and redemption. If besides, any dualistic theories of creation were taught by the errorists, they too are repelled, whether intentionally or not, both by the direct ascription of creation to God, *e. g.*, 4, 11; 10, 6, and also by the abiding relation of creation with God, if with Swete the symbolism of the four living creatures in the midst of the throne 4, 6, etc., represent creation and divine immanence in nature.

Apart however from these two possible special references, we have found as the basis for the establishment of the readers of the Revelation, an exceptionally full statement of eschatological hope resting on the historic faith in the finality and completeness of the divine revelation in the work of Christ really united with the human Jesus throughout his life, ministry, redemptive death, resurrection and exaltation. It is a hope and faith built up in the Christian life of fellowship in the Kingdom, of whose assured inheritance the universal gift of the Spirit is a foretaste and earnest. Further in the three Epistles in which the errorists are mentioned, these christological re-affirmations are so interwoven with the denunciations of the false teachers as to justify the conclusion that their claim to possess prophetic gifts of the Spirit and antinomian emancipation, and to be apostles with a revelation superior to the Apostolic Gospel and with an authority of pseudognosis disrupting the fellowship of Christ's Church, involved also their denial of its fundamental christology, which is reasserted in the introductory chapter and brought into special relation to the conditions and dangers of each of the Seven Churches. This result, that the outstanding features of the Nicolaitan error are practically identical with those we have recognized in the gnosticizing system opposed in other New Testament Books, would accord with either of the dates assigned to the Revelation. On the now usually accepted date under Domitian, the false teachers in the Apocalypse are recognized to be of the same movement as that denounced in I and II John, of the same period. If an

earlier date is assigned, *e. g.*, 68 or 75 A. D., as still finds some advocates, we have found in these studies, cp. also Lütgert *op. cit.* p. 47, the activity of such a propaganda as in I John and Revelation, in the Pauline Epistles before these dates and in other Epistles frequently assigned to the eighth decade.

CHAPTER IX

THE ATTACK AND REPULSE OF THE GNOSTIC MOVEMENT IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

From the preceding studies in separate Epistles or in groups of them, of a gnosticizing movement, we reach the conclusion that the results converge to the proof of the activity of that movement beginning in the Pauline churches from about 50 A. D. onwards. Briefly summarizing the recurring general features of it, so far as we have been able to determine them, we submit that although its speculative bases were only gradually recognized and exposed, it began with a claim of a superior prophetic gift of gnosis, illumination and power. The direct and earliest outcome of this claim of gnosis, which was united with a speculative theory of the essential evil of the material universe, was a denial of Christian eschatology: the Parousia of Christ, general resurrection and judgment, and a consummation of the Kingdom. On the contrary, without a Parousia, the errorists had already entered on the resurrection life; for them the Day of the Lord was already come, the resurrection already has taken place; and in their possession of the Spirit and his gifts, they were already 'satisfied in the enjoyment of the consummate Messianic blessedness.'

The assertion of such claim of superior pneumatic life and the resulting denial of the hope which dominated the Christian life, inevitably involved divisions subversive of the Christian fellowship and of the unity of the Church. These divisions were fostered by another characteristic claim of gnosis: the gift of freedom emancipating them from all external authority. In the sphere of morals this freedom was manifested in antinomian libertinism. In social relations it involved them in disparagement or repudiation of the institution of marriage; and it would also tend to raise them above the institutions and authority of the State. In any case their antinomian freedom would cause the name, the word, the doctrine of God and the way of truth to be blasphemed. Within the Church, their perversion of freedom was seen in their repudiation of Apostolic authority and Church discipline; and most important,

in the accompanying independence of the Apostolic tradition of the Gospel. This involved not only rejection of the hope of the Parousia and its blessings, but a perversion of the Church's faith in Christ himself. Their teaching concerning him, in opposition to the Church's tradition, was a tradition of men, a philosophy which was empty deceit 'opposed to the word of truth of the Gospel and to the treasures of wisdom and gnosis hid in Christ,' Abbott on Col. 2, 8; and corresponding to the gnosis falsely so called, in I Tim. 6, 20.

According to the New Testament method of polemic against it, the speculative basis of this system is nowhere presented and discussed in its principles. We have however recognized from the warnings which are concerned with its consequences for Christian doctrine that it included the theory of dualistic opposition of spirit and created matter; and on this principle, had to explain away by docetic theories the reality of the incarnation of the heavenly Christ, of his passion and of his resurrection as a first-fruits of a general resurrection in glorified bodies. On such a theory there was no place for the doctrine of redemption through the death of Christ. Its own theory of redemption is, again, not presented formally in its principles and method, but only as a contradiction of the accepted Gospel that Christ died for our sins, and of the direct immediate consciousness and personal experience of redemption in his death and resurrection. In general the allusions to the opposing system of redemption indicate that it was by means of gnosis, possession of the Spirit and his gifts of visions and revelations, and by ascent to perfection through angelic mediators.[1]

In all these points of fundamental faith and hope of a life in love fulfilling all moral law, and of fellowship and brotherhood, the system of error was totally subversive of the Gospel of Christ. Its repulse was therefore one of the most vital tasks of the Apostolic Age; and with the polemic and defense against it, we have

[1] Bousset, *op. cit.*, p. 276, concludes his chapter of discussion of the form of the gnostic Redeemer with the statement: 'The redemption myth or myths of the gnostic religion are not first derived from the circle of ideas of the Christian religion, but were previously existent and were only artificially combined with this circle of ideas; and in gnosticism, alien mythical figures of a redeemer were identified with the figure of Christ in the way of a supplement and artificially.'

found the New Testament Epistles to be concerned in larger measure than is ordinarily recognized. There is still a general disposition to restrict its propaganda to the close of the Apostolic Age; or to interpret its earlier appearances as due to local influences, and as exhibiting only a semi-gnosticizing teaching which was to be developed into the great gnostic systems of the second century.[2] Among the reasons for this attitude was at first the fact that the Tübingen criticism emphasizing the gnostic references in several Epistles, argued that these references were to second-century systems, and thus assigned the same date for such Epistles. The usual line of defense of their genuineness was therefore to minimize the gnostic features and to show that the remaining features do not correspond to any definite second-century system, and especially not to the speculative constructions of any of them.

Another objection to the presence of a gnostic movement within the Pauline churches from 50 A. D. onwards, is that these churches were only founded in the sixth decade, and therefore the five to ten years between their founding and the Epistles addressed to them was too short a period for the appearance among them of so definite and widespread a perversion of the Gospel as we have found to be indicated in these Epistles. This objection loses its force, when it is recalled that the error opposed is not viewed as the false development of Christian life and teaching from within the Church, but as propaganda of perversion intruding from without. This view definitely involves the activity of one or more groups of syncretistic gnostic teachers who have in some way been attracted to the Gospel. The existence of such gnostic movements before the Pauline mission is now fully recognized.[3] And the

[2] E. De Faye, *Introduction à l'Étude du Gnosticisme*, p. 140: Le gnosticisme fermente déjà, dans l'ombre, au siècle apostolique. C'est la période obscure où s'élaborent les diverses tendances qui donneront naissance aux grandes écoles du II^e siècle.

[3] W. Köhler, *Die Gnosis*, p. 12: 'The existence of pre-Christian gnostic congregations, *i. e.*, religious communities in which gnosis was the central idea, cannot be contested.' Cp. Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, p. 5 ff. Lake, *Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, p. 46: 'Gnostic ideas are earlier, not later, than Christianity.' Knopf, *Die Briefe Petri und Judä*, p. 339: 'Gnosis was a great danger for the churches in the second generation; on certain points already in the first generation.' Similarly Moffatt, *Introd.*, p. 153 f., as quoted on p. 290.

present interest in investigation both of the beginnings of gnosticism and of the great systems of the second century promise to contribute materially to our understanding of the character, methods and influence of the movement in its relations with Christianity in the Apostolic Age. We have, however, restricted our attention to the evidence from the New Testament for its activity within the Church; and will proceed to consider the possible lines of its approach and of its intrusion into the Church at the early period, and the Apostolic method of meeting it, which will at the same time reflect the method of its propaganda.

1. ITS PROVENANCE AND ADVANCE INTO THE CHURCH

We found in the Pauline Epistles that the intruders were Jews, but not Judaizers. They boast in Corinth of their Jewish descent and privileges, inculcate some Jewish ceremonial practices in Colossæ, and in the Pastorals they employ Jewish myths. But their continued successful propaganda among Gentile Christians would inevitably lead to the prevailingly Gentile character of the later gnosticism; yet as Lütgert repeats from Zahn, the older the gnosis, the more Jewish it is.[4] Such a Jewish movement in the New Testament age posits of course the existence of other Jewish sects in addition to the familiar divisions of Judaism by Josephus into the parties of Pharisees, Sadducees and Essenes. And as this is fully recognized it will be sufficient for our purpose to refer to the conclusions of a few special investigations as to the existence and definite character of such a Jewish sect as we have found implied in the New Testament Epistles.

Hoennicke, *Jud. Christm.*, p. 33 ff., conveniently summarizes the occasion of the rise and the character of these Jewish sectaries

[4] Already in Tit. 1, 10 'they of the circumcision' are only a special portion of the intruders. In the Johannine Epistles the provenance of the false teachers is not indicated. It is a possibility that in the Revelation they who claim to be Jews but are of the synagogue of Satan, 2, 9; 3, 11, may be related to the errorists there opposed. In Ignatius, *Magnes.* 8.10 and *Philad.* 6, the use of 'Joudaismos' in connection with errorists, as Lütgert states, *Amt u. Geist*, p. 162, is the more conceivable if the opposing movement originated with Jewish teachers. Yet as he shows, the term is not here used of the religion of Israel or nomism, but is the denial of the Son of God and his resurrection, as by unbelieving Jews so by errorists who although uncircumcised teach 'Joudaismos.'

whose activity he recognizes in the first century. He assigns as the sources of the manifold currents of thought among the Jewish people, both the many sided developments of Old Testament ideas and also the influences of heathenism upon Judaism when it too was drawn into the syncretistic movement. By syncretism he understands a mixture of the most various views in manifold circles of culture. Philosophical speculations, cosmological views, religious myths were utilized to answer the profoundest questions: concerning God and the world, spirit and matter, the absolute and the finite, world-development and world-goal. Redemption from all that is material was striven after. Answers were sought to the questions of the origin of evil, the way of salvation, the rescue of man from the powers of death and unto immortality. The fundamental tendency of the movement is this: man as regards his spirit belongs to a higher world; his development, his perfecting is the problem.

The two leading forms of this syncretism are the Oriental, especially Babylonian-Persian, and the Hellenistic. While Hoennicke realizes that it is difficult to determine to what extent they were present in the Judaism of the first century and by what process they related themselves with Jewish thought, he yet recognizes that this syncretism has essentially contributed to the variety of the thought-world of the Jews which appears both in the lists of sects in Judaism given by the Church Fathers and also in Philo's reference to a radical religious party of the Jews who freed themselves from the precepts of the Old Testament and neglected the observance of the Law, *de migr. Abhm.* M.1.450. As to the influence of this movement on Christianity, he concludes, p. 240, that in Palestine and Syria Jewish Christianity, including judaistic Christianity, appropriated many syncretistic features. But in regard to the western Diaspora he limits himself to the statement that 'we only know from such writings as Colossians and the Pastorals that Christian circles of Jewish origin favored syncretistic views.' When he adds, 'we must further say that Jewish Christian syncretism was a not unimportant factor in the rise of gnosticism,' *i. e.*, of the second century; and that 'gnosticism is closely related with the formation of Jewish sects,' we can appropriate his admissions of the existence of a syncretistic Jewish sect in the Apostolic Age, of its influence upon Christian circles and of

its essential relation to later gnostic systems, as supporting our own conclusions as to the activity and character of such a gnosticizing Jewish movement in the Apostolic churches from the middle of the first century onwards.

Referring to Jewish scholars, we find that among them Blau, *Jew. Encyc.* 5, 612, also concludes that there was a Jewish gnosticism and that it antedated Christianity. He also agrees with those Jewish scholars who hold that in rabbinical writings the title Minim is often applied to these early Jewish gnostics. And to Blau 'it is highly probable that a not inconsiderable part of the earliest Jewish gnosis is still extant, though in somewhat modified form, in mystical small midrashim and in the mediæval productions of the Jewish Cabbala.' In the view of J. Abelson likewise, although the Zohar first appeared in Spain in the 13th century, 'many an idea and doctrine certainly goes as far back' as the second century, 'and further too.'[5] He too holds that 'Philo, Josephus and older portions of the Talmuds, sources belonging to the first two or three Christian centuries, contain allusions to certain sects who differed in their mode of life from the general body of the Jews and who were in possession of certain esoteric teachings.' And he infers in particular from scattered rabbinic remarks, that there existed in the early Christian centuries a small sect of Jewish mystics with an esoteric science of the Merkabah: the lore of the heavenly Throne-chariot of Ezekiel, 1, 4 ff.

Besides the above conclusions of these rabbinical scholars as to the existence in, or prior to, the Apostolic Age of syncretistic Jewish sects devoted in general to speculative mysticism, Hönig[6] argues from Jewish and Christian sources that Jews were the first gnostics, and one of their earliest sects were the Ophites. He

[5] J. Abelson, *Jewish Mysticism*, p. 118 f., 35. He rejects, however, the theory of Reitzenstein, who in *Poimandres* regards the cabbalistic work *Yetsirah* as a Hebrew production of the second century, B. C. Lightfoot, *Colossians*, p. 93, while not using the Cabbala as a development of Jewish thought illustrating the Colossian heresy, *e. g.*, the 'thrones' of 1, 16 and the 'tradition' of 2, 8, because of the impossibility of separating and dating the ancient elements, points out that 'the cabbalistic doctrine however will serve to show to what extent Judaism may be developed in the direction of speculative mysticism.'

[6] A. Hönig, *Die Ophiten*, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des jüdischen Gnosticismus, 1889.

maintains, more definitely, that the Ophites belonged originally to Judaism; and in contrast to the results of more recent investigators, insists also that "they derived all the material for the construction of their new system from Judaism; even Demiurgism, the most hostile enemy of Judaism, could nevertheless arise in Judaism alone. It was excogitated to preserve the appearance of monotheism when the question '*unde mala*' entered the foreground of Jewish reflection and imperiously demanded an answer." He dates the origin of the Ophite movement at the latest in the time of Philo in Alexandria and in the days of Jochanan ben Sakkai in Palestine in the last third of the first century. Pfleiderer, *Urchristm.* II pp. 81–99, in his reconstruction of the Ophite system from Irenæus' account, also assigns it to a pre-Christian origin; but among the Jews of the eastern Dispersion who combined in it Babylonian theogonic and cosmogonic myths with legendary constructions of the Old Testament primitive history of man. Upon its contact with Christianity, a new syncretism arose in view of the many related features, especially the antilegalism of the Pauline doctrine of redemption, and the doctrine of a redeemer and divine Son descending from heaven and ascending thither as conqueror of all powers below or above the earth.

In addition to the general recognition of a syncretistic element of speculative mysticism in Judaism in the Apostolic Age, and besides the specific theories that the system of the Ophite gnostics and their allied groups was originally Jewish and pre-Christian, M. Friedländer has more definitely advocated in various publications an antinomian gnosticism in Alexandrian Judaism contemporary with Philo or earlier.[7] Holding with Harnack that gnosticism is older than Christianity [8] he maintains from Philo the existence in the Diaspora of a radical allegorizing Jewish sect which

[7] His construction of the movement may be found most fully in *Der Vorchristliche jüdische Gnosticismus*, 1898, and in *Geschichte der judischen Apologetik*, 1903, chap. VIII, Die Polemik nach innen.

[8] Harnack, *Gesch. d. altchrist. Litteratur*, I, 144. 'It is undubitable that there existed a Jewish gnosticism before a Christian and Jewish Christian gnosticism. Since the second century B. C. as the Apocalypses themselves prove, it was in the blood of Judaism, which had appropriated Babylonian and Syrian doctrines. But perhaps the relation of this Jewish gnosticism to the Christian can never be made clear.'

Philo opposes.[9] Its followers are sophistical advocates of an impious antinomianism in which they boldly profess to have been excellently instructed under the guidance and doctrine of Cain. They are men who think themselves wise, without knowing true wisdom: δοκησίσοφοι, τὸ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν σοφὸν οὐκ εἰδότες. Their laws are the various forms of lawlessness and uncontrolled desires. Friedländer further argues that this antinomianism rests on a theosophy and speculative cosmogony opposed in Talmudic passages which he assigns to the first century. And he asserts that the Minim denounced in these passages are not Christians, but speculative gnostics. Hoennicke, *l. c.* p. 36, follows the Jewish scholars who deny that these positions have been established. In his view the statements of Philo point only to individual Jews of philosophical culture who neglected the observance of the external form of the legal prescriptions. He grants, however, that 'what is certain is only that syncretism strongly swept against Judaism, but could not weaken the monotheistic basis.'

We believe nevertheless with Pfleiderer, *Urchr.*, II, 53, that 'this polemic of Philo is directed against the Jewish gnostic sect of the Cainites, which sought by sophistical arts to win adherents for its antinomistic doctrine and practice, among the Jews of the Diaspora, and to influence the election of the leaders of the orthodox congregations. Since the Cainites belonged to the widely spread Ophite gnostics, there is found in Philo's polemic the clear proof for the existence of the beginnings of that gnosis already in the pre-Christian Judaism of the Diaspora.' He adds that 'it arose not from Alexandrian Judaism alone, but from that mixture of Babylonian, Jewish and Hellenistic religion in which the various Christian gnostic sects have their common sources.' For our purpose it has been enough to recognize the presence of elements in contemporary or earlier Judaism and especially in Alexandrianism, which make conceivable the Jewish provenance of the errorists of the New Testament Epistles.

While the determination of the original point of contact of this Jewish speculative movement with Christianity still remains obscure, the variety of conjectures concerning it points to the

[9] He quotes from four Genesis treatises of Philo: *De Sacrificio Abelis et Caini*, M., I, 163; *Quod deterius potiori insidiari soleat*, I, 191.197; *De Posteritate Caini sibi visi sapientis*, I, 232.235; *De Migratione Abrahami*, I, 450.

possibilities of many avenues of its approach to the Church. With such a movement already active both in the eastern and western Diaspora, the Christian propaganda must naturally have come into contact in its early stages. Whether or not phases of this speculation are to be found in the contemporary Judaism of Jerusalem and Palestine, there is no suggestion in the New Testament that it intruded into the Christian churches of Jerusalem and Judea. In Acts the first attempt of the system to intrude into the Church is made by Simon Magus with the first step in the church expansion beyond the Jewish national borders. He is there described as the representative of the current mingling of oriental theosophy and some form of Judaism; as attracted to Christianity both by the miracles of Philip, which were clearly of an order distinct from, and greater than, his sorceries, and also by the gifts of the Spirit through the Apostles; as ambitious to exercise the same powers; and at the same time he is denounced, 8, 23, for his moral depravity. Though no further reference is made to him in the New Testament, Pfleiderer is inclined to interpret conjecturally the later patristic view of him as the arch heretic, as pointing to the possibility either of a historical connection of Simon with some Cainite or Ophite sect, or of its adoption of his name as its leader and prophet.[10] The first incident which Luke records in Paul's first missionary journey is the Apostle's conflict with another Jewish magus and false prophet in Cyprus. He is denounced, not indeed for attempted intrusion into the Church, but for his opposition to the Apostles and for seeking to turn aside the Proconsul from the faith. While he thus represents the forms of Jewish syncretism which maintained an attitude of rivalry with Christianity, it is suggestive as to the essential character of his opposing teaching that he is denounced, 13, 11, in the terms which the Apostle later applies to the gnostic errorists in his Epistles.

It is therefore not strange that in the period of the Epistles beginning some five years later, references should appear to Jewish gnostic intrusion in Macedon, Corinth, Ephesus, Proconsular Asia and Crete; in all which localities the Jewish element would invite propaganda not only by Christian missionaries but by Jewish gnostic teachers as well. We know, however, only of their

[10] For the system of Simon and the Simonians see the references in Bousset, *op. cit.*, and Montgomery, *Samaritans*, p. 265 ff.

intrusion into the churches, and as professed Christians, and ordinarily with letters commendatory. Whence they thus came is unknown, in our ignorance of the history of the churches founded in the expansion of Christianity from Jerusalem to Palestine, Syria, Cyprus, Asia Minor and probably Alexandria, in the period of at least fifteen years between the death of Stephen and the Letters to Thessalonica.[11] We can next only conjecture the lines of approach of these syncretistic Jews to Christianity. The suggestion that they were converts to some advanced development of Christian teaching by the freer spirit of the scattered and unrestrained sympathizers with Stephen, does not accord with the fact that there is no trace of speculative mysticism in Stephen's teaching. Both he and Philip were concerned with the universalism of the Gospel, which would naturally be developed along the lines of the subsequent Pauline teaching, as indicated in Acts 11, 25 ff. The work of their Cyprian and Cyrenian associates is moreover expressly approved by Barnabas, who had been sent from the Jerusalem church to inquire into the new development of the propaganda by the followers of the Seven. Nicolaus, however, is one of the Seven; and scholars are still divided in opinion as to whether he was the founder of the libertine gnostic party of the Nicolaitans. In addition to the defense of him by Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 3.4.25 f., we note also Luke's commendation of him as possessing the qualifications demanded of the Seven. Since the gnostic movement is recognized to have been active within the Church at 63 A. D., approximately Harnack's date for Acts, Luke could not have so written if Nicolaus was the founder of a gnostic sect. There would be even greater improbability of Luke's commendation, if he wrote in 85 according to Zahn, or a decade later in the view of many liberal critics. Should it be suggested that Nicolaus became heretical after 63 A. D., then he was not the founder but a follower of the movement that was active in Greece a decade earlier. Nor could he have been a leader sufficiently prominent to give his name to the false teaching, since in Corinth and elsewhere its leaders, unlike this proselyte from

[11] If the statement II Cor. 11, 22: 'Are they Hebrews' means that they spoke Aramaic, as Plummer holds, cp. also Trench *Synonyms*, § xxxix, and Lightfoot on Php. 3, 5, the next words 'So am I' from a Jew of Tarsus reminds us that such speakers need not be Palestinians.

Antioch, could boast of their pure Jewish descent as the seed of Abraham. Nor is it probable, as Zahn is inclined to believe, *Introd.*, III, p. 323,331, that the gnostic movement originated in some School of the Baptist and intruded thence into the Church. It could conceivably intrude independently into, and pervert the teachings of, such isolated groups as readily as it intruded into the organized churches. But since its system was libertine and anti-eschatological, it could not develop directly from the Baptist's practice and teaching. Apollos who knew only the baptism of John was not a gnostic teacher, but enjoyed the complete sympathy of Paul. In Acts 19, those who had John's baptism knew nothing of the Spirit, which was the characteristic boast of the gnostics. The asceticism of certain gnostic sects would not indicate their relation to, or origination from the disciples of the Baptist. With him, fasting was a penitential preparation for a judgment which gnostics denied. It was not like theirs, abstinence from specific foods and drink on account of their inherent evil, but a fasting on certain days, Lk. 5, 33, the limit of whose frequency would seem to be within that of the extreme boast of the Pharisee, Lk. 18, 12, who fasted twice in the week.

In view therefore of the untenableness of these suggestions that the Jewish syncretistic teachers intruded into the Pauline churches around the Ægean from groups of assumed perverted followers of Stephen, Nicolaus or John the Baptist, we are thrown back upon the possibility of their advent from some church to which they had been admitted in Palestine, outside of Judea, or in Syria, or in Cilicia whose metropolis, Tarsus, was the meeting point of the oriental and western world, or in Cyprus. Alexandria, however, in view of the interest of some of its Jewish sects in speculative mysticism and even antinomianism, would be the most probable starting point of intruders into the churches of the Ægean, if we had any evidence of early evangelization of its great Jewish population by Palestinian Christians or by such men of Cyprus and Cyrene as evangelized even Greeks in Antioch; or by Barnabas and Mark, unless they concluded their second missionary journey at Paphos in Cyprus, with Alexandria and its great opportunity facing them in the direct line of travel.[12] But from whatever church the

[12] Swete, *Expositor*, V, 6, 1897, p. 275 and Zahn, *Skizzen, a. d. Leben d. Alten Kirche*, p. 343, favor the tradition of the evangelization of Alexandria

errorists came into Greece, the case of Simon Magus proves that such men found it possible to gain admission into it by professing some form of faith in Christ, in order to be baptized; and with their characteristic guile in reserved and adroit presentation of their system, they must have maintained a sufficient standing in the church of their baptism to secure the usual commendatory letters upon their departure.

In accounting for their membership in such churches and for their original approach to Christianity, we can recall first the dissemination in many forms of Jewish gnosticism directly in the track of the Gospel mission, which made possible its early contact with Christian communities. Its constant spirit of assimilation would next find a special attraction in the Gospel as an impressive new development of Judaism. In the prominent features of the Christian preaching, gnosticizing Jews could recognize elements closely related to their own system. For here was a new form of revelation in the Christ from heaven; a new teaching of redemption in the revelation of this Christ and in his conquest of all the opposing powers of evil and darkness; a new principle of freedom from an external legalism. It offered, and in the evident experience of its converts it secured, direct communion and access to God, with the resulting indwelling of the Spirit of the heavenly Christ and the accompanying gnosis, illumination and manifold gifts of the Spirit.

How they were able to meet the conditions of baptismal profession for admission to the Church, is to be understood from the New Testament declarations that their lives and teachings revealed the insincerity of their professions, their real denials of the fundamental faith and their destruction of the fellowship into which they had intruded. Simon Magus, in spite of the necessary baptismal profession of repentance, was still in the bond of iniquity; still needed to repent of his wickedness; his heart was not right before God. So too in Rom. 6, Paul has to combat the immorality of errorists who ignored the renunciation of sin which was involved in their baptism, in contrast to his recognition of his readers' moral obedience, and 'from the heart,' to the form

by Mark; Swete also thinking it likely that he proceeded thither from Cyprus. Moffatt too, *Paul and Paulinism*, p. 24, states that while Paul was at Ephesus 'Egypt apparently was already being evangelized by other Christians.'

of the didache delivered to them at their baptism, cp. also I Pet. 3, 21. Similarly their confession of Jesus as Lord and Christ is indicated in various passages as having been qualified with the reservation of a merely docetic association of the human Jesus and the heavenly Christ; and their profession of the hope of resurrection was likewise qualified by their interpretation of it as already fulfilled in a spiritual resurrection in baptism. Once thus admitted into the Church, they found especially in the Pauline churches a soil prepared for the spread of their perverted fusion of Gospel principles and their gnostic speculations. And in the measure of their success was involved further, a repudiation of unity and fellowship in the Church with its Gospel tradition and ministry. The local clergy seem to have been unable to control the influence of their acknowledged gifts of eloquent persuasion and their boasted gifts of the Spirit in revelations, visions and power which both freed them from, and also exalted them above, the authority of the Apostolic ministry and its Gospel. Hence, instead of unity arose the divisions; and primarily the divisions by them of the disciples into a class of the merely psychics, because still adhering to the imperfect Gospel of the Apostles who themselves had no sufficiency in the gnosis, powers and freedom of the Spirit; and into the class of the pneumatics consisting of themselves and their followers. Among these would naturally be found such women and slaves as were specially excited by the radical form of the intruders' presentation of the emancipation essentially inhering in the Gospel teaching. These adherents and their leaders still remained in the fellowship, the activities and worship of the Church; yet formed within it, inner groups, conventicles and separate agapæ, which were the foci of their propaganda. For initiation and instruction in such groups, money payment was demanded; and there and not in the general meeting, I Cor. 14, 23.26, we can conclude were imparted the esoteric doctrines in which their syncretistic mystical speculations and visions were combined with perversions of the Gospel teachings by means of allegorical treatment of the early chapters of Genesis, since the allusions in the Epistles to these chapters are usually made in corrective sections of polemic against the errorists.

With this view of the probable construction of such data as we possess, to account for the presence of this movement in Pauline

churches in their earliest period; and with this summary of its general principles, tendencies, methods and issues, we may in conclusion proceed to review in connection with our earlier discussions, the New Testament method of establishment of the disciples in the *bebaiosis* of their faith by apology and by polemic against the intruding gnostic leaders.

2. EXPOSURE AND DISCIPLINE OF THE ERRORISTS

This Apostolic defense and attack was not, however, conducted, as we might have conjectured, by the method of direct personal controversy with the errorists. This we shall find was impracticable both by reason of the stealthy tactics of the wily opponents and also of the profitlessness of argument with those who, while professing Christian principles, rejected in fact the fundamental bases of Christian truth and life. For in the first place they intruded into the Pauline churches in the Apostle's absence, as in II Cor. 11; and yet adroitly exploited his absence as proof of his fear to meet them and defend his teaching and authority by a proof of Christ speaking in him, II Cor. 13, 3. Already in I Thess., he has to meet some complaint of his failure to visit the readers in person, cp. 2, 17; 3, 6.10, with the extended assurances, explanations and prayers of 2, 17–3, 11, and with his deputation of Timothy to establish them. While we cannot in this passage determine the source and animus of the complaint, these are clear in I and II Cor. Timothy is again sent as his delegate, I Cor. 4, 17; yet in the next verse he has to ward off the charge of his enemies that his own absence is a confession of lack of ability to cope with them personally, since his bodily presence is weak and his discourse is of no account. He then definitely engages to come shortly to Corinth and to know not the word of them that are puffed up but the power.[13] But from no Epistle does Paul appear to have met any of them directly, until in I Tim. he names Hymenæus and Alexander. Even then we hear nothing of argument or persuasion, but only of a pronouncement of their shipwreck concerning faith and morals and of the Apostle's excommunication of them, along with a delivery unto Satan, yet still with a disciplinary purpose.

Until then he seems to know of them and their system by re-

[13] I Cor. 4, 18–21; II Cor. 1, 12–24; 10, 1 ff.; 13, 1–10.

ports, and to have dealt with them through the churches by his Letters or through his delegates. In considering the references to his method of treatment of them as leaders of the movement, we notice at once that it is sharply distinguished from his method, which will be discussed later, of establishment of converts exposed to, or yielding to their influence. This is clear from the fact that from his earliest acquaintance with their subtle activities and concealed aims, he refused to recognize their Christian standing. In II Thess. 3, 2, as he prays that he and his converts may be delivered from the unreasonable and wicked men, he indicates also that they are not of the faith. The same position is taken in I Cor. 11, 19, where he asserts the necessity of divisions, αἱρέσεις, that the approved, οἱ δόκιμοι, may be made manifest among you; which involves as I John 2, 19, that the errorists 'may be made manifest that they all are not of us.' In I Cor. 12, 3; 16, 22, the ground of this repudiation of them may be judged to be his increasing recognition that they do not maintain the fundamental Christian belief in Jesus and in his Parousia. After the visits of Timothy and Titus to Corinth, the defense and developing attack of I Cor. and the assurance of the Apostle's approaching visit, the errorists are forced into open opposition. And now in II Cor., after the nine chapters concerned with establishing the Corinthian disciples renewing their allegiance to Paul, the closing four chapters of polemic against the false teachers are based upon his direct exposure of them: that instead of being apostles of Christ they are in fact ministers of Satan, and that their work is not for the upbuilding but for the demolition of Christian faith and life.

With this refusal to recognize their teaching as based on Christian principles is related both the absence of explicit formulations of the opposing theories and of the arguments by which they were maintained, and also the standing rule in the Pastorals forbidding the Evangelists to enter into discussion with the errorists.[14] Their empty, vain, foolish, ignorant talking; their questions of controversy and strife about words, are profitable for nothing; are for the subversion of them that hear, rather than for the stewardship of God in faith; are profane and old wives' myths, opposed to the words of faith and the good doctrine. Hence, the Evangelists

[14] I Tim. 1, 4; 4, 7; 6, 20; II Tim. 2, 14.16.23 f.; Titus 1, 11; 3, 9.

are not to engage in controversial discussion with such teachers, but to command them not to teach this 'different doctrine'; to stop their mouths; to have nothing to do with their profane myths and controversies; to shun and turn away from their profane babblings and falsely called gnosis. There could be discussion at Athens with Gentiles, based on some elementary common principles of religious philosophy. In the synagogues, the Christian missionary could reason with Jews from the common ground of belief in the Old Testament Scriptures. We have New Testament records of controversy with Judaizers, with whom Paul could reason from accepted beliefs in the Old Testament, the Gospel and the spiritual facts of Christian experience. But argument and appeal could serve no conceivable purpose with men, who with full knowledge of the Gospel and with profession of belief in it, deliberately rejected its fundamental principles. There could, therefore, be only direct denunciation of their repudiation of the common bases of the Christian life, of their perversion of the truth of the Gospel, and of their destructive influence subverting the unity and growth of the Christian brotherhood.

And this denunciation is pronounced in the exercise of the Church's discipline of such professors of Christianity, as appears in passages alluding to direct personal relations with them as claiming membership in the Church. Although as stated there is no certainty from the Epistles before the Pastorals that Paul himself came into personal collision with them, there are some intimations of the method of discipline he would adopt, if he met them directly. In I Cor. 4, 19, he warns that on his visit he will learn not the word of them that are puffed up but the power; and that his discipline of them and their followers may be with a rod rather than in love and a spirit of gentleness. The form of this discipline with a rod may be reflected in the concluding autograph anathema of 16, 22. The severity of his discipline in person on his visit to Corinth is announced in II Cor. 10, 2–6: it is to be with weapons of warfare mighty to the casting down of the opposing movement exalting itself against the gnosis of God, and which in 11, 3; 13–15, is denounced as Satanic. Further in 10, 6 he is in readiness to avenge all disobedience, when the obedience of the Corinthians shall be made full: where he appears to distinguish between his discipline of the Corinthians and of the

false teachers to whom he is referring in the passage. In the Pastorals, however, the two Evangelists are in direct relations with the errorists whose activities are now more open and whose system had become more fully exposed. Titus must also have met them in Corinth; and Timothy, who may also have met them there and in Thessalonica and elsewhere, is associated in the writing of all the earlier Epistles concerned with the false teaching. Both would, therefore, know the mind of the Apostle as to their discipline. Timothy is besides definitely reminded of the discipline of excommunication inflicted by Paul upon Hymenæus and Alexander.

We have, moreover, two disciplinary rules in the Pastorals, pointing to the expulsion of such errorists, the grounds for it and the controlling purpose of it. Titus, 3, 10, is to reject an αἱρετικός man. The rejection is obviously from the communion of the Church. Such a punishment reveals that the man is more than 'factious,' which was not an uncommon sin and which would not as here be the only sin mentioned as leading to exclusion. In the immediate context, vs. 9, it is the sin of men who cause divisions and separations based on acceptance of their false teachings and immoral practices. Besides refusal to discuss their tenets with them, and prohibition of their teaching in the Church, there is to be administered the discipline of νουθεσία: direct warning instruction of their error and sin. Upon refusal to return to the truth of the Gospel, they receive a second and final warning; and upon rejection of it, will follow their expulsion. The ground of this action is the direct knowledge that such a one is ἐξέστραπται: is completely perverted from the Christian faith and life. The term occurs again in the Greek Bible only in Dt. 32, 20, from which it may have been taken. There it describes apostatizing Israel as 'a very perverse generation,' and is paralleled with 'children in whom is no faithfulness,' and is followed by the divine discipline of judgments in vss. 21 ff.[15] The accompanying ground of his exclusion is that his persisting subversion of the truth is a sin in which he is self-condemned. This condemnation

[15] The probability that Dt. 32 was used in the primitive collection of Testimonia appears from its frequent citation: Mtw. 17, 17 and parallel, Lk. 9, 41; Acts 2, 40; Rom. 10, 19; 15, 10; I Cor. 10, 20.22; Ph. 2, 15; probably in Acts 13, 10; 20, 30; and also Hbws. 10, 30 as applied to the errorists.

goes beyond the Evangelist's rejection of him from the church fellowship. That is παιδεία, disciplinary correction which may lead to a change of mind and life. But as in Hebrews 2, 3, his sin is 'neglect of so great salvation;' and in 10, 20 f., is willful sin after receiving the knowledge of the truth; a treading under foot the Son of God, counting the blood of the Covenant an unholy thing, doing despite unto the Spirit of grace; for which there remains no more a sacrifice for sins. Rejecting the salvation of the Gospel, he condemns himself to the judgment from which it alone delivers.

This view of the rule in Titus is supported by the rule in II Tim. 2, 25. Towards all, including here those influenced by the errorists, the Evangelist, vs. 24, is to observe the standing rule which was already in force in I Thess. 5, 14. He is to be gentle towards all, ready and skilled to teach, forbearing. Then follows a special rule concerning the errorists who are distinguished from the general classes of vs. 24. As they reject the church teaching and the admonitions prescribed in Titus, there remains only παιδεία: the disciplinary correction of exclusion. Their self-condemnation to this expulsion is reflected in the description of them as being already in the snare of the devil; as his captives and doing his will. No further ministry of the Church can effect their escape from that snare and service, since they reject its message and means of salvation. The only possible ministry to them is the Church's standing witness of their actual separation from it, by its discipline of exclusion. This is not exercised in bitterness but 'in meekness,' cp. II Cor. 10, 1; not in assurance of their absolute rejection, but in the hope that through the Church's discipline or some divine influence, God may grant them repentance unto knowledge of the truth and a return unto a sound mind, II Tim. 2, 25.

Outside the Pauline Epistles we meet with the same attitude and the same method of treatment of them. In Hebrews the warnings against 'neglect of so great salvation' increase in definiteness from 'how shall we escape,' and 'let us fear lest haply any one of you should seem to have come short of the promise of entering into his rest;' and 'it is impossible to renew again unto repentance those who were once enlightened and fell away, seeing they crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh, though in

6, 9 the readers are assured that they are not viewed as being in this class; to the climax in 9, 29 ff.: the sorer punishment of which he shall be judged worthy, who has rejected the Son of God, the blood of the Covenant, the Spirit of grace. No further threat of the rejected Church discipline is made, but the solemn warning is given of judgment at the hands of the living God. And yet there is still added, 12, 14 ff., the conviction of the Church's duty of all possible ministry to them: of looking carefully, ἐπισκοποῦντες, lest there be any man that falleth back from the grace of God; lest there be any fornicator or profane person as Esau who sold his own birthright, who was rejected from inheritance of the blessing.

Jude renews the most solemn warnings of divine judgments awaiting the errorists. Yet he too renews, vss. 22.23, the Church's duty of any possible ministry. Unfortunately the text is so uncertain that commentators cannot decide positively concerning the reference to the false teachers in this closing exhortation. Though Westcott and Hort have remarked that the triple division adopted by Tischendorf and Tregelles from A and the Sinaitic, gives no satisfactory sense, it is still retained by Mayor. He considers that Jude does not here touch upon the case of the heretical leaders. To him the three classes are first the doubters or the disputers of vs. 9, who are to be reproved and convinced, reading ἐλέγχετε in vs. 22; next, those in more imminent danger, who are to be snatched from the fire; the third class, those who seem to be beyond human help, who are to be treated with trembling compassion, yet with shrinking from personal communication. Apparently this last class has fully identified itself with the heretical leaders, who would, therefore, be objects of the same 'compassion in fear.' But it is far more probable that only two classes are referred to, as in the text adopted by W. H., Ws. and von Soden. In this case the first reference could be to the errorists, though ἐλεᾶτε does not accord with the preceding denunciations. We may, however, as W. H. suggests regard it as intrusive, being mechanically inserted from the second clause; or better, adopt with Mayor the frequent reading ἐλέγχετε. As elsewhere in the New Testament the errorists are to be disciplined by being exposed, convicted of error. And the appended Old Testament quotation echoes the warnings of the Epistle and expresses the

aim of the Church's discipline of them: to save them by snatching them from the fire of judgment they have incurred; just as in Zech. 3, 2 in the judgment scene of Satan rebuked, Israel in its representative high priest Joshua with Satan as his adversary, is a brand by God's grace plucked from the fire, cp. Mayor: of captivity which was the punishment of national sin.

The distinct ministry of 'compassion with fear' in 23 b, naturally points to the distinct class of those influenced by the heretical leaders. Again an Old Testament quotation is appended, presumably suggested by the filthy garments of Joshua in the foregoing passage of Zechariah. Here it expresses the sensual immorality into which the false teaching led its followers. The 'compassion with fear' is the standing church rule of discipline 'in meekness' with which we have met frequently. Its statement in Gal. 6, 1, will best illustrate this verse in Jude: restore in the spirit of meekness, looking to thyself lest thou also be tempted. The fear of Jude, vs. 23, is, therefore, not, as often stated, the fear of contamination, for which the facts of Christian rescue work afford no justification. But 'hating even the garment spotted by the flesh' expresses rather the Christian's own ideal purity and animates him as in Jas. 5, 19 f. to compassion and rescue of the erring brother.

Although in I John the errorists have at this period gone out of the Church and in II John are denied admission into Christian circles, the same method of treatment is indicated as in previous Epistles: no discussion of the principles or arguments of their system; exposure of their denials of the Gospel: denunciation of their conduct. We may note also the same distinction as before in the treatment of disciples exposed to their influence. While the Epistle aims to guard its readers from yielding to this influence by every ministry of witness, exhortation and prayer, the separated apostates from the Church's faith in Christ, as in the view of numerous scholars, are regarded as sinning unto death. For their forgiveness John does not bid the churches to intercessory prayer with the 'boldness that if we ask anything according to God's will, he heareth us.' Persistent continuance in immorality and willful rejection of the divine propitiation of the incarnate Son of God makes forgiveness inconceivable, since all its necessary conditions are refused. Such sinners 'shut their

hearts to the only power that could save them.' [16] Yet even in this case there is no absolute, final despair concerning them. Though it is not possible to pray for their forgiveness while impenitent, it is still possible to pray for their repentance in order to their forgiveness and restoration. Nevertheless since the Church has exhausted every ministry to lead them to repentance, there remains only as in II Tim. 2, 25 some form of direct divine correction by which peradventure he may give them repentance unto the knowledge of the truth and escape from the judgment impending on their continuance in sin unto death.

Such a possible divine method of their restoration appears too in the references to the Nicolaitans in the Apocalypse. Ephesus could not bear the company of these evil men; had tested them, pronounced them to be false apostles and had, like her Lord, hated their evil deeds. Evidently they had been excluded from that church. But in Pergamum there are found those who hold at least their immoral teachings. The church itself is called to repentance for this sin of some of its members, while they themselves are warned of Christ's coming to war against them with the punitive sword of his mouth, cp. Hebws. 4, 12 f. Next at Thyratira we meet with a leader of the errorists, 'a person or party in whose doings the writer saw a resemblance to Jezebel,' Ahab's wife: introducing false prophecy, teaching of error, immorality. To Jezebel was given time to repent, but she wills not to repent. Whereupon follows the divine correction. The leader Jezebel is to be cast upon a bed of pain and, following Swete, the members of the Church who were led by her teaching into pagan vices and spiritual adultery, are to be cast into great tribulation unless they repent of her works. This suggests that her divine chastisement also is in the divine purpose to lead her to repentance. Yet that her sin, while she is impenitent, is unto death, appears in vs. 23: her children, 'her spiritual progeny as distinguished from those misled for a time' shall be killed with death. A similar principle of direct divine chastisement as a discipline that might lead men to repentance, appears in 9, 20 f. and in 16, 9.11, though in both cases they repented not. Yet the possi-

[16] Bethune-Baker on I John 5, 16 in *H. D. B.*, II, 58a, 'To one who thus sins the way of forgiveness is closed; at least it is not to be opened through the intercession of his brethren, which in other cases would avail.'

bility of divine punishment leading to penitence is expressed in 11, 13, where after the second woe the rest of men became affrighted and gave glory to the God of heaven, which Swete interprets as a confession of sin induced by fear or despair.

The polemic against the intruders is thus restricted to their denunciation and discipline, without a direct presentation and discussion of their system. The controlling aim of the New Testament references to it is the establishment of disciples in stedfastness of faith and in the worthy walk which are endangered by its attack. Such allusions, therefore, to its principles and issues as we have able to recognize are made from this standpoint.

3. METHODS OF ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FAITHFUL

From the earliest to the latest Epistles we meet with the same general method of establishment of the faithful against the subversive movement. It consists as we have seen first and negatively of the exposure of the intruding system as a direct denial of the Gospel which the readers have received and wherein they stand; next and positively of a call to be stedfast and immovable, to hold fast and to abide in the primitive tradition of the Gospel with its manifold witness issuing in that of personal experience of salvation in a direct access to God through Christ in one Spirit. There is no renewal of the primitive apologia, cp. Hebws, 5, 12; 6, 1, but a confident appeal to its validity in their experience of salvation and spiritual growth, in antithesis to the emptiness of the opposing system and the impending shipwreck of its followers. An appeal to the primitive Gospel and to the original experience of those accepting it, is of course a general means of establishment on any occasion of flagging zeal, laxity or lowered tone of religious life. But it is definitely made in the polemical sections of the Epistles as the essential means of establishing believers by recalling the Apostolic Gospel and the bebaiosis of faith both as a criterion and counteraction of the error and also as the basis and principle of their spiritual growth. What Moffatt, *Introd.*, p. 346, has remarked concerning the polemic in Jude, applies to other New Testament writers as well: 'Religious conservatism is its keynote. The pretensions of the impious men are contrasted with the fixed and final tradition.' It is not, however, a conservatism opposing development, progress and growth from

Christian principles to the goal of the fullness of Christ; but is a conservation of the fundamental realities and principles of Christian faith and hope, of the moral ideals and of the unity of the Body of Christ, as these were delivered and accepted in the original Gospel of the unchanging revelation of God in Christ.

The use of this method of appeal to primitive preaching and belief in establishing believers against the false teaching could be traced in detail from I Thess. to the Johannine Epistles.[17] The constancy and confidence of this method obviously points to the general recognition of the validity and finality of the revelation of Christ. For lack of conformity to it as the criterion, the competing system is exposed and denounced. But the persistence and evident measure of success of the opposing movement, which is seen in any case by its long maintenance of connection with the Church, points also to its skill in evading the issue of conformity, and in parrying the charge of subverting the fundamental faith.

The evasion appears to have been made by denial of a valid tradition of the Gospel by the Apostolic ministry. Paul seems to have been charged with preaching only a Christ and a resurrection 'after the flesh': and this because of the insufficiency of his gift of gnosis of the revelation in Christ. In his emphatic insistence on the sole validity of his Gospel preaching, he was exercising an unwarranted claim of authority over the faith of disciples, cp. II Cor. 1, 24; I Cor. 7, 35. This evasion was met, as we find, by basing the validity of the Apostles' tradition of the Gospel on their personal discipleship to Christ and on their witness of his resurrection; on their divine commission and stewardship, with the accompanying divine witness in their effectual preaching, as manifested in the spiritual experience of forgiveness and of a new life in the Spirit by those who received the Apostolic message as the word of God. While contrariwise, the alleged Gospel of the errorists is not a witness of a divine revelation, but is a philosophy and tradition of men which is a vain deceit; its teachers have no commission, but are false apostles and antichrists; and it issues not in salvation but in perdition.

[17] Cp. I Thess. 1–3; 4, 1 ff.; 5, 1 ff.; II Thess. 2, 5 f. 15.; 3, 6 f.; I Cor. 2, 1 ff.; 4, 17; 11, 2; 15, 1 ff.; Col. 1, 23; 2, 4 f.; I Tim. 1, 10 f.; 4, 6; 6, 3.12 f. 20; II Tim. 1, 13 f.; 3, 10.14; Hbws. 2, 1–4; 3, 14; 5, 11–6, 12; 10, 23; 13, 7; I Pet. 1, 12.23–25; Jude 4.17; II Pet. 1, 12 f.; 3, 1 ff.; I John 1, 1 ff.; 2, 7.24; 3, 23.

One other mode of parrying this charge of perverting the Gospel was still available: The claim that their teaching was a development of the elementary beginnings of the Apostolic tradition by their superior revelations, visions, gnosis and prophecy, as a means of advancing understanding of the original revelation of Christ. It is in the last period of the New Testament age that we meet with the most concrete allusion to this claim of progress and advance. The description of the false teachers in II John, 9 is, 'every one that advances, προάγων, and abides not in the didache of Christ.' In this contrasted statement the term does not mean 'taketh the lead' as in RVM, *i.*, *e.*, with Alford, as teacher; nor is it illustrated in III John 9 by φιλοπρωτεύων; but as in the text of RV it means 'goeth onward, *i. e.*, from the original didache of Christ,' or with Windisch, 'going beyond the Canon of the Truth'. It is further illustrated in I John 2, 7.8, where in contrast to the errorists he writes no new commandment, but the old commandment ye had from the beginning, the word ye hear, which is yet ever new.

The various earlier calls to hold fast to the original teaching likewise reveal that their occasion was a new teaching which could only hope for a hearing on the ground that it was not supplanting the gospel but was an advance and spiritual development of it. The Pastorals seem to treat such progress as the watchword of the gnosticizing teachers. Three times in II Tim. reference is made to their advance, προκόπτειν. First it is denounced as such a development, 2, 16, as will advance to greater measures of ungodliness. Its logos will spread as does gangrene. Next, 3, 9, it will not advance further, because of its exposure as folly. And in 3, 13, its advance shall be towards the worse, deceiving and being deceived. The parallelism to II John 2, 9, extends besides to the antithesis of this vaunted development to abiding in the primitive teaching. The advance in 2, 16 is contrasted, vs. 17, with the firm foundation of God; in 3, 9, with Timothy's following the Apostle's teaching, faith and life, vs. 10; in 3, 13, with the call to Timothy to abide in the things he learned and has been assured of, which will be the base of the Evangelist's true προκοπή, I Tim. 4, 14: an advance that will be manifest to all. We could, moreover, recognize this boast of an alleged development of the gospel, from the general earlier references to the errorists' disparagements of Paul as insufficient,

weak in the freedom and power of the Spirit, and therefore as being only able to feed his converts with milk and not with meat.

This claim of a spiritual development was met on every occasion by the exposure of the false teaching as being in no sense a progressive growth from Christian principles or an advancing structure upon a Christian foundation, but as a subversal of that foundation and as a development from principles contrary to the Christian faith. Gnosticism in the New Testament age could indeed meet all the familiar seven notes of a genuine development, as formulated by Newman, *Development of Christian Doctrine*, ch. 5. But it was a development and advance of pre-Christian Jewish gnosticism, not of the primitive Gospel.[18] In the place, therefore, of such a spurious development there is found a positive presentation of the true basis, principle and means of growth and upbuilding of Christian life and truth. Its one unchanging foundation is Christ, in whom the final and complete revelation has been given once for all. In believers, however, there is to be an increasing appropriation and applications of this one revelation by growth in the knowledge and experience of it in all the relations of life; and specifically as a means of establishment in the primary bebaiosis of faith on occasions of attack upon it.[19] Hence in the polemic sections of the Epistles we meet with a direct interest in the

[18] Bousset, *op. cit.*, p. 7, following Gruppe, denies that gnosticism was a developing force either in the general history of human culture or specifically n the history of Christianity. 'Gnosticism is not a mighty intellectual phenomenon pressing onwards, but rather one that lags behind, a reaction of the ancient syncretism against the upwards aspiring universal Religion. And the outstanding leaders of the system in later time, even with the illumination of the Greek spirit, are not men of the future but people of the past, who sought to maintain a lost cause by toilsome and even by not intellectually inconsiderable compromises.'

[19] Westcott, *Hebrews*, pp. 4 and 7: 'The revelation in Christ the Son is perfect both in substance and form. The Incarnation and the Ascension include absolutely all that is wrought out slowly and appropriated little by little in the experience of later life. All later experience is the appointed method by which the teaching of the Incarnation is progressively mastered πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως. This contrast between the absolute aspect of Christ's work and its progressive appropriation by men occurs throughout Scripture.' For the relation of development to the faith once delivered, see J. B. Mayor, *St. Jude and II St. Peter*, pp. 65–69.

development of faith and Christian life on the foundation of the Apostolic Gospel. The call to stand stedfast and immovable against attacks is accompanied by the call to growth and to abound in the work of the Lord.

This advance is expressed in a variety of familiar figures resting ultimately on the teachings of Christ: upbuilding of a spiritual house upon an immovable foundation; growth and fruitfulness from a divinely implanted seed, or as branches of a living vine; growth and maturity from a new birth as members of the living body of which Christ is the head. As the basis of the Christian life is divine, so in all these figures the principle of its growth is a divine communion in which faith grows exceedingly, love and hope abound, and fellowship is growing up in all things unto the fullness of Christ. In controversial sections especially, one of the means of establishment by such growth is the possession of a true gnosis and of the principle of its development and consummation, given in the Gospel and in the spiritual life believers have received upon their acceptance of it.

The character and function of this Christian gnosis is presented in works on New Testament theology; [20] and in recent years the understanding of the topic has been advanced by the discussions concerning the relation of Christianity to the Hellenistic mystery religions with their characteristic feature of gnosis.[21] Reitzenstein, while recognizing *Z. N. T. W.*, p. 21, at least an indirect influence by Greek philosophy upon the formation of Paul's concepts and thoughts, advocates most definitely the thesis that the Apostle adopted essentially the language of the mystery religions, and that in the New Testament references to gnosis and allied terms, they are used in the same mystical sense as in the contemporary syncretism. 'Paul was not the first, yet the greatest

[20] Feine, p. 443 ff., 604 ff., Holtzmann, I, 476 ff., Gnosis in the New Testament; the relation of N. T. teachings to the controlling features of the movement here characterized being developed in special sections of vol. II. Similarly in Pfleiderer's *Urchristenthum*, Syncretism and Gnosticism, II, p. 73 ff., is followed by discussion of gnosis in the N. T. Writings regarded by him as post-Pauline. The mystical element in gnosis in earlier Pauline Epistles is briefly treated in I, 279 ff. Weinel, §§ 74; 80, 4; 103. B. Weiss, §§ 92 b; 102; 149.

[21] Feine, *op. cit.*, pp. 7–15, and the bibliography prefixed to chap. 7 of Schweitzer's *Paul and his Interpreters*.

gnostic,' p. 56.[22] It has been further claimed, not indeed by Reitzenstein but by various writers, cp. Feine, p. 7 ff., that Christianity is itself one of the mystery religions, a synthesis of the oriental religions of redemption, due to Paul, either upon the Gospel and the mysticism of the contact of the Antiochene mission with religious movements in Asia Minor or Greece, or even earlier owing to his previous acquaintance with these religions and their literature.

The many points of similarity between Pauline and syncretistic mysticism are capable, however, of a different construction of the relation of the competing religious movements. Lake's statements, concerned primarily with the historical facts of the propaganda of the Gospel, are especially suggestive: in *Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, p. 215, 'Christianity has not borrowed from the mystery religions, because it was at least in Europe a mystery religion itself.' Yet, p. 92, in the matter of eschatology 'there was originally a fundamental difference between Christianity and the mystery religions.' The Thessalonians 'had accepted Christianity as something different from the mystery religions. But in this respect they offer a contrast to some of the Corinthian Christians,' who, pp. 215–219, advocated the views of future life associated with the mystery religions, and who yet, p. 219, 'do not understand the true nature of the Christian mystery.' These statements help us to recognize both an essential mystical element in Christianity and its distinction from the mysticism and mysteries of hellenistic religions; and more definitely that the occasion of emphasizing the true character of the Christian mystery was the opposition of Jewish gnostic Christians in Corinth, who were attempting to assimilate their syncretism of Judaism and hellenistic mysticism with the Gospel of Christ.

In direct discussion of Reitzenstein's view of the correspondence of Pauline and hellenistic mysticism and gnosis, we have on the one hand Schweitzer's opposition on the ground that the Apostle's teaching was fundamentally eschatological and distinct from many essential features of the mystery religions; [23] and on the

[22] R. Reitzenstein, *Die Hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen*, 1910, pp. 43 and 112 ff.

[23] A. Schweitzer, *Paul and his Interpreters* chap. 7, Paulinism and comparative religions, to which chapter Wernle, *Theolog. Litztg.*, 1914, 516 f.,

other hand such general criticisms as those of Feine, Kennedy and Krebs.[24] Accepting the results of Reitzenstein, supplemented by Norden and others, that the long recognized employment in the New Testament of numerous terms and ideas connected with gnosis, is based not on purely hellenic but on hellenistic and syncretistic usage, and that numerous threads of relation connect hellenistic and Pauline concepts and terminology, they yet maintain that in the New Testament these terms are used with a distinct content, and at essential points with a totally different content; and, therefore, that statements made by Paul and John in such terms, do not prove their adoption of the gnostic mystical conceptions expressed in similar terms.

It is conceivable as these writers state that the Gospel preachers, in an age when syncretistic religious terms were current, would use them to introduce, or to secure an understanding of, the Gospel by means of these terms specially defined. But in fact there are no indications of such a method in the references in the Acts to propaganda among the heathen. At Lystra the heathen addressed are interested in the hellenic gods, at Athens they are representatives of Greek philosophy; and in both cases are approached on the lines of the usual Jewish propaganda preaching. There is no suggestion of the use of mystery terms in the primitive preaching in the references to it in I Thess. and Rom. 1, 18 f. Such terms become especially prominent in Epistles or sections of them marked by polemic against gnosticizing errorists. And we conclude from the foregoing studies that the occasion of their use was, negatively, the need of denying the possession by Jewish gnostic Christians of the gnosis, wisdom, illumination, power, freedom and perfection which they falsely claimed. And positively, these familiar terms, which in many cases were closely related to fundamental religious terms and concepts of the Old Testament and to Gospel teaching based upon it, would obviously be also used with any necessary specifications to express the true

assigns a real and very serious importance. Reitzenstein replied to this chapter in *Z. N. T. W.*, 1912, p. 1 f: Religionsgeschichte und Eschatologie.

[24] P. Feine, *Theologie des N. Ts.*, pp. 15.247.291.313.559. H. A. A. Kennedy, *St. Paul and the Mystery-Religions*, chaps. 4 ff. E. Krebs, *Das rel. geschichtliche Problem des Urchristenthums*, chaps. 5, 6, 8. See also C. Clemen, *Der Einfluss d. Mysterien-religionen auf d. älteste Christenthum.*

gnosis, mystery and mystical elements of the Gospel, in and by which readers influenced by the false teachers were to be established. In this positive establishment, therefore, we find the constant emphasis on the initial preaching and experience as a revelation of the true mystery of God, as a real redemption received in a mystical certainty of faith and effecting a direct union with God.

The term most intimately related to this bebaiosis of faith, and probably antedating collision with the errorists, is 'epignosis of the truth.' This statement involves of course the rejection of the familiar view that epignosis is used in the relevant New Testament passages as a higher stage of knowledge by which the Christian gnosis excels that of the false teachers, or as a higher spiritual knowledge surpassing their assumed intellectualism. We have already seen that this was not the New Testament method: a false gnosis was not confuted by a higher gnosis, but by a real gnosis. Further, the traditional view though maintained by Lightfoot, that epignosis means 'an advance on gnosis,' as being larger, more thorough and complete, or as being perfection of knowledge, has been shown by Robinson, *Ephesians*, 248 ff., to be untenable. His conclusion is that gnosis is the wider word and expresses knowledge in the fullest sense that can be given to the word; and that epignosis is knowledge directed towards a particular object, perceiving, discerning, recognizing.[25] It may be added that it is therefore not used in the New Testament to express a knowledge fuller or more advanced than gnosis. Rom. 1, 28 does not view the

[25] Mayor, *St. Jude and II St. Peter*, pp. 171–174, agrees with Robinson's distinction, but still thinks Lightfoot is justified in claiming an intensive force, 'a closeness and intimacy of knowledge.' But in the New Testament this is the result of its relation to faith and not to gnosis, as being an advance upon it. In the only place, I Cor. 13, 12, where the two terms seem to be contrasted as to degree, Robinson points out that γινώσκω could, as in Gal. 4, 9 and I Cor. 8, 3, be used in both clauses; and that the thought of fuller knowledge is expressed not by ἐπιγινώσκω but by the contrast with ἐκ μέρους and the defining καθώς clause. Less satisfactory is his admission that the full sounding word has been chosen to heighten the effect at the close. It would rather seem that like the use of σωτηρία both for the initial salvation and also for its actual final consummation, so here ἐπιγνώσομαι refers to the initial epignosis as finally perfected by growth in faith, hope and love through increasing gnosis until we see face to face even as we have been known by God.

heathen as not approving to have God in advanced knowledge, but states then when the gnosis of vs. 18 ff. was manifested to them, they refused to recognize, acknowledge and appropriate it. The references in the Pastorals and Hebrews to epignosis of the truth [26] are concerned not with advanced gnosis, but with the initial recognition, acknowledgment and profession of the Gospel and with the inner experiences of the truth of its promises of forgiveness and of divine communion in the new life in the Spirit communicated at baptism.

Dibelius, whose special view will be stated later, understands the phrase to refer 'to becoming or being a Christian.' And he agrees that it is a technical term referring to instruction for baptism as both A. Seeberg and Windisch state in their comment on Hbws. 10, 26.[27] In favor of this view that it was a technical primitive term for the initial instruction and spiritual experience of converts, is the fact that it and varied equivalent expressions appear in direct sequence and in relation to the initial faith in the preaching of the Gospel.[28] It would seem also that various other passages in the Epistles where epignosis and its verb are used, reflect familiarity with the phrase 'epignosis of the truth,' the initial instruction and conviction of faith, as the occasion of their formulation. It is therefore clear that such initial epignosis was not an advance upon, or completion of, the false gnosis; and that as being initial knowl-

[26] I Tim. 2, 4; 4, 3; II Tim. 2, 25; 3, 7; Tit. 1, 1; Hbws. 10, 26.

[27] M. Dibelius, *N. T. Studien f. g. Heinrici*, 1914, p. 177 ff.: Ἐπίγνωσις ἀληθείας. A. Seeberg, *Hb. bf.*, 117, 'The complete knowledge of truth took place in baptism in which the Christian made profession of the Christian doctrine.' In his *Katechismus*, p. 261 n., he adds that 'the truth' probably refers not merely to the formula of faith, but to the entire content of the catechism.

[28] I Tim. 2, 4.7; 4, 3; Tit. 1, 1; Ephes. 4, 13; cp. 1, 13 ff. and 4, 20–24; Col. 1, 5–10; Phm. 6; Hbws. 10, 22–26; II Pet. 1, 3–8; cp. II Cor. 13, 5. Similarly in the Apostolic Fathers: in Clement 59, 2.3, the initial call from darkness to light is explained as being from agnosia to epignosis of the glory of God's name; and is followed by the prayer for hearts thus illuminated εἰς τὸ γινώσκειν God. Polycarp, Mar. 14, 1, prays to the Lord through whose Son 'we received τὴν περὶ σοῦ ἐπίγνωσιν. In Hermas, Sim. 9.16, 7 the dead to whom the Apostles preached the name of the Son of God and who were baptized by them 'were made alive and ἐπέγνωσαν the name of the Son of God.' Cp. also Diognetus, 10, 1–3.

edge, we should anticipate its growth by means of a developing gnosis.

We have already recognized in discussing bebaiosis, the mystical element in such epignosis of the truth, although the phrase was not originally framed in rivalry to the gnosis of the mystery religions. For the faith which issued in epignosis was a response to a divine illumination effecting a direct certainty of the truth of the Gospel and an access with all the saints to the Father through the indwelling Christ in one Spirit. In principle and potentially this mystical union was assured in the initial epignosis, of full fruition: the witness of Christ, I Cor. 1, 6–9, was confirmed, ἐβεβαιώθη in them so that they came behind in no gift, waiting for the revelation of Christ at the end. God who called them into the fellowship of his Son is faithful and will also confirm them unreprovable in the day of the Lord. As the epignosis is the recognition and appropriation of salvation, it too like σωτηρία has still to be wrought out and consummated.[29] As the work and gift of the Spirit, it is the earnest of perfected salvation and union, sight face to face, in which the epignosis at conversion will have become knowledge of God as we have been known of him. This relation between the initial and final stages of salvation and epignosis is illustrated by statements of Caird in his discussion of religious life.[30] It is of its very essence that the Infinite has ceased to be merely a far off vision of spiritual attainment, and has become a spiritual reality. In that act which constitutes the beginning of the religious life, call it faith, or trust or self-surrender, there is

[29] Weinel, p. 399, retains the view that epignosis is used in the later Epistles to express the believers' conception of Christianity as the true and full gnosis. Less positively, B. Weiss, 128.d.n.8; in II Peter 'perhaps in allusion to this germinating error, as similarly in the Pastorals, Christianity is conceived preferably as epignosis.' On the other hand, Dibelius, *op. cit.*, pp. 186, 189, regarding Ephes. and Pastorals as post-Pauline, and eliminating references to epignosis in the introductions to Pauline Epistles as belonging to the schematic formulation, considers it as a leveling down and popularization of the mystic terminology of Paul, to protect the Church against the dangers of a one-sided mysticism and the related divorce between religion and morality; and at the same time to preserve the union between mystic individualists and the believing congregations. To him epignosis of the truth is therefore knowledge proceeding from sound doctrine and applied in life.

[30] John Caird, *Introduction to the Philosophy of Religion*, 1880, pp. 294–299.

involved the identification of the finite with a life which is eternally realized. It is the elevation of the spirit into a region where hope passes into certitude, struggle into conquest, interminable effort and endeavor into peace and rest. It is true that religious life is progressive; but it is not progress *towards* but *within* the sphere of the Infinite. It is the endeavor, by the constant exercise of spiritual activity, to appropriate that infinite inheritance of which we are already in possession. The whole future of the religious life is given in its beginning, but it is given implicitly as a principle which has yet to unfold its hidden riches and its all subduing power. Evil, error, imperfection are already virtually as they will be actually suppressed and annulled, and in the very process of being annulled they become the means of spiritual progress.

This initial mystical knowledge and union is therefore to be developed, and by gnosis, in the growth of the whole personality amid the experiences of a life of faith in all human relationships, unto the fullness of Christ. Reitzenstein's statements, p. 38, concerning hellenistic gnosis will enable us to note the similarities of syncretistic and Christian views of it, and the occasion for the discriminations and polemic of the New Testament writers: 'The supreme sight, *θέα*, of God which renders us divine and gives salvation is called *γνῶναι θεόν*. Gnosis is a direct living experience, a grace-gift, *χάρισμα*, of God. It illuminates the man and at the same time transforms his substance. It exalts him through the body up into the world of the supersensual. It is a kind of a new life, the highest perfection of the soul, the emancipation from the body, the path to heaven, the means of salvation, the true worship of God and piety, as agnosia of God is always love for the body and sin. He who has gnosis is already as man, *θεῖος*'.

First recalling that the New Testament references are not to a direct conflict with any of the mystery religions but to errorists' attempts to assimilate these ideas with the Gospel, we find that whatever similarities may appear between the character and goal of the mystery gnosis and the initial and perfected Christian epignosis, the Christian writers distinctly emphasize their essential contrasts. While syncretistic gnosis professes to offer a revelation in the cult, symbols and mysteries of the dying and rising nature Gods, or in the visions and revelations of the Lord to the

errorists, II Cor. 12, 1, Christians possess a revelation of God's eternal purpose of redemption and consummation in the historic life and work and heavenly ministry of Christ, which is proclaimed and taught to every man in all wisdom. It is not θέα, sight of God, but is illumination proceeding from the gnosis of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ, the image of God, II Cor. 4, 6.4. This illumination of gnosis is not a theosophical knowledge attained in ecstatic vision divorced from our cognitive activities, but is coincident with the renewal of the πνεῦμα τοῦ νοός and with the illumination of the νοήματα and of the eyes of the heart. Neither is it divorced from ethical tasks and duties in our individual and corporate life. Hence it is not, as in the rival systems, the basis of claims of perfection. The Christian has still to work out his salvation, yet with God continuously energizing in him to will and to do in furtherance of his redemptive purpose. Gnosis is likewise, as with the errorists and in the mystery religions, an assurance of immortality; yet not as a present possession and as an attained goal, but as the full assurance of hope that Christians whose life is now hid with God in Christ, will, when he shall be manifested, also with him be manifested in glory.

Correlative therefore to this selection of fundamental contrasts, is the distinct function of gnosis in the Apostolic teaching as to the development of the initial epignosis to its full consummation. The objects to which gnosis is directed are the whole contents of revelation appropriated by faith. It is the developing 'penetration into the deeper grounds and the wider consequences of the great Christian redemptive facts, and a still farther application of the truth of redemption to the practical life with the varied wealth of its concrete relations,' Weiss, *N. T. Theology*, 102, d. As such, it is however not simply intellectual, but is an activity of the whole personality; and much more, of this personality in communion with God, illuminating, inspiring, invigorating the renewed man whose life is in Christ and in the Spirit. Thus growth in such gnosis has a mystical character as being deepening union of all the activities of our personality with the indwelling Christ of God. The result of this indwelling, Ephes. 3, 16 ff. is that we may know the love of Christ which passes knowledge and be filled unto all the fullness of God; and in Philippians 3, 10 ff. this fuller and developing apprehension is by knowing the dying and risen Christ in deepening

personal experience, communion and conformation to his death in order to attain unto the resurrection.[31]

Hence this increasing personal apprehension of the revealed mysteries of the divine love and grace is a means of development of a 'faith which groweth exceedingly.' While the mystery of God, Rom. 16, 25 f., Ephes. 3, 3, has been completely revealed by Christ in whom are all the treasures of sophia and gnosis, hidden; and while in the Apostolic Gospel the whole counsel of God has been delivered to faith, there is still to be a growing and deeper recognition of it both in sophia and gnosis. The distinction between these gifts is presented in divergent forms in the commentaries.[32] But a comparison of the passages where they appear together supports the view of B. Weiss, *N. T. Theology*, 92, c; 102 that sophia in this combination refers to increasing recognition of the fullness of the revelation in Christ given in apocalypses and special forms of prophecy; while gnosis expresses the developing apprehension of the relations, signification and practical applications of all the revealed mysteries of the divine life, will and purpose.[33] An

[31] B. Weiss, *The Religion of the N. T.*, chap. 16.1; *N. T. Theology*, 102.d; 116.c. Weinel, *op. cit.*, p. 363. Feine, *op. cit.*, p. 443: 'Knowledge, inasmuch as its real nature is not of a theoretical but of a practically religious character, an energizing and effectual experience of God and Christ, is essentially the same as faith. Yet it is more definitely a deeper penetration into the activities, revelations and mysteries included in Christian faith. Its task is to educe and develop the content of faith, and to determine it more definitely according to its essential character, against attacks and false tendencies.' In the Prison Letters when opposing false Christological doctrine, the need also of full intellectual understanding is recognized. 'Yet Paul does not commit the mistake of desiring to convince by an intellectual method, but places the emphasis on the experience of what they have enjoyed in union with Christ, and of what redemptive facts God has accomplished in Christ. At this stage, union of life with Christ desires also a fully corresponding knowledge of Christ; the right connection with him does not exist without appropriation of the truth, which also is mediated spiritually.' On p. 418 he can agree with Reitzenstein, pp. 39,126 that in I Cor. 14, 6, gnosis is used in the technical mystical significance of intuitive knowledge effected through the self-disclosure of God, with which, however, is joined sophia, regarded by Feine as clear knowledge of the understanding contrasted with intuitive mystical knowledge.

[32] A brief summary and discussion of them is given by J. Gloël, *Der Heilige Geist i. d. Heilsverkündigung des Paulus*, pp. 331–334.

[33] Comparison of all the passages in the Epistles where sophia is used shows its usual connection on the one hand with the revelation of the mystery of God in Christ, including the eschatological consummation; and on the other

illustration of the development of faith by means of this sophia and gnosis is found in Ephes. 3, 3 ff.: the mystery, the unsearchable riches of Christ, the manifold wisdom of God, is made known to Paul by revelation. His own understanding of it, σύνεσις, can be perceived by what he has in brief written in chaps. 2 and 3: the developed doctrine of Christ's person and work and of his relation to the Church. On this basis is his prayer, 14 ff., that the readers may be filled unto all the fullness of God, and this through the indwelling of Christ by faith enabling their apprehension and gnosis of the revealed mystery of the knowledge-surpassing love of God in Christ, cp. 1, 8 f. The doctrinal sections of the other Epistles likewise teach their readers in all wisdom and gnosis concerning the mysteries of faith, thereby leading to its establishment and growth. Moffatt, *Introd.*, p. 443, so speaks of Hebrews: it is a word of gnosis, more on the lines of Paul's gnosis, I Cor. 12, 8, 'intended to meet the special practical needs of the church by furnishing the readers with conceptions of christology which will brace them against apostasy and discouragement.'

Deepening apprehension of the mysteries of faith in communion with God in Christ is essentially a growth of knowledge of the divine love awaking our returning love. In contrast to antinomian freedom based on false gnosis, this union of reciprocated love involves conformity to his will for our consecration in a moral life of love fulfilling all law. And the love in which we are rooted and grounded is still to abound in its original epignosis by αἴσθησις, perception, and moral discernment. 'As wise,' especially by revelation of the last things, we are 'to know and understand' what the will of the Lord is; to approve the good, the acceptable and perfect will of God, until, Col. 4, 12, we stand perfect and fully assured in it. Such perfection in all the will of God, 1, 9, is to walk worthily of the Lord unto all pleasing, is a fruitfulness in every good work, an increasing in the original epignosis of his will, and definitely in all wisdom and spiritual understanding.[34]

hand with gnosis or the phases of it expressed in σύνεσις, spiritual σύνεσις, φρόνησις. A compressed phrase in Revelation indicates the same relation of the terms: 'the nous having sophia' can understand the revealed mystery of the Beast or Babylon.

[34] Gloël, *op. cit.*, p. 296, 'The gnosis effected by the Spirit has for its object primarily and predominatingly the salvation that has appeared in Christ

It is by gnosis too that we are 'to abound in hope in the power of the Holy Ghost.' The gift, Ephes. 1, 17, of the spirit of sophia and apocalypsis in our epignosis is for the illumination of our hearts 'to know' the hope of God's calling, the wealth of his glory and the might of his power to us-wards. Though eye hath not seen the things prepared for those who love God, he has made a 'revelation' of them by the Spirit. They who have received the Spirit which is from God may know these χαρισθέντα, which are the blessings of the messianic Kingdom already appropriated in hope; may speak them in words of wisdom taught by the Spirit; and may know them συνκρίνοντες and ἀνακρίνοντες, because having as well the νοῦς of Christ.

Christian fellowship also is developed by this gnosis, which is a spiritual gift, I Cor. 12 ff., for the profit and upbuilding of the whole body of Christ. Opposing the exclusiveness and individualism of the errorists, the goal of unity and of a perfected humanity which is revealed in the faith and initial epignosis of the Son of God, Ephes. 4, 13, is apprehended, known and increasingly realized by understanding of the mystery of Christ in fellowship with all saints in all individual and corporate relations. It is a gnosis which is advanced in mutual love, service and worship; and definitely in the teachings, exhortations and admonitions in the church service and ministry, as well as by the discernment and testing of the prophetic gifts of wisdom and gnosis exercised in the Church's worship.

In I John too in evident opposition to a false knowledge, the function of true Christian gnosis appears interwoven throughout all the discussions of the Epistle. Here also it is a spiritual gift enjoyed in mystical union with God. As we are in him that is true, he has given us an understanding, διάνοια, that we may know him that is true. It is found in the Epistle to be a gnosis, a spiritual perception and gift of the Spirit developing the whole personality that is born of, abides in and loves God. By means of it those who have accepted in faith the message of the word of life, know the Father and the Son; and are enabled to walk in the light, to

and the eternal counsel of God realized in him; yet the spiritual knowledge of the divine truth is at the same time the true basis of the concrete spiritual tasks and for discernment concerning all that confronts the Christian in the world.'

walk as Christ walked, and be thereby perfected in the love of God. Their Christian hope is assured by knowing that now are they children of God and shall be like him, and may have boldness in the day of Judgment. And throughout, the Christian fellowship in brotherly love and service is grounded on the knowledge of God and of his love manifested in the incarnation, 4, 7, and declared by the Apostolic witness, 1, 1–4, and call to enter their fellowship with the Father and with his Son Jesus Christ.

The claims to the possession of mysteries, wisdom and gnosis, and their perverted use, in the system of the errorists, were thus repudiated in the positive presentation of the function of true Christian wisdom and knowledge. But in addition, since the gnosticizing system was a destructive influence upon Christian faith and life as a whole, believers had still to be guarded in the Epistles directed against the movement, by the application of the general principles and means of establishment in the faith. Hence, we have found in all the New Testament writings a confident appeal to the initial faith of the readers in the Apostolic Gospel. And in the enlarging and varied experiences of their developing Christian life, they were established in this faith both by being recalled to the primary direct conviction of their union with God and also by being strengthened in this bebaiosis through the increasing apprehension of the fullness of the divine revelation in Christ by means of the word of wisdom and the illumination of gnosis, through the prophetic exhortations to a moral walk fulfilling all law as summed up in love, and above all through the deepening life of divine communion in personal devotion, in corporate worship and mutual brotherly service in the fellowship of believers severally members of the one body of the indwelling Christ.

This constant method of establishment could be illustrated in almost any one of the Epistles, but it appears with special conciseness in the compressed formulations of Jude. His aim in the call to contend for the faith once delivered, is establishment against gnostic perversion of the Christian doctrine and life; and the method is that of the other New Testament writers. There is first, negatively an exposure of the errorists' teachings, life and doom. But with vs. 17 is, positively, a call to remember the primitive preaching: the words of the Apostles of Christ. The

words here recalled are, with Mayor and Windisch, from the general oral tradition of the Gospel, which was delivered in the preaching, the initial instruction and in the subsequent didaskalia in the Church services, cp. I Cor. 6, 9; 15, 1; Gal. 5, 21; I Thess. 3, 3; 4, 1; II Thess. 2, 5; Col. 1, 5–7; Ephes. 4, 20. Whether or how far this constant appeal to primitive teaching in the interest of establishing the readers of the Epistles in their special situations, affected the principle of selection of Christ's words and deeds in the composition of our Gospels, is involved with too many other critical questions to permit of its discussion here. Such a relation between I John and the Fourth Gospel is recognized in varying degrees; but the divergence of opinion as to the dates and destinations of the Synoptic Gospels, and therefore as to the situations of their readers, prevents agreement as to the Evangelists' special aims and methods of selection, in establishing those readers. Yet throughout the period from 62 to 100 A. D., to which the Gospels are variously assigned, their definite selections of the evangelical material, their special emphases and details would serve to recall to such believers as possessed them, the word of truth of the Gospel of Christ's life and teachings to which the Epistles appealed against the tradition and philosophy of men; and this, not only in the general presentation of Jesus as the Christ and Son of God, as in Mark; but in addition, by their record of his Virgin Birth, of his moral, universalistic and eschatological teachings, of the reality of his resurrection, of the mission of his Apostolic Church, as in Luke and Matthew: all in contrast to the current denials of these fundamental Christian principles.[35]

[35] Von Soden, *Theolog. Abhandgn Weizsäcker gewidmet*: The Interest of the Apostolic Age in the Evangelic History, pp. 161–165, emphasizes the pressing interests at the time of the composition of the Gospels, as a normative influence on the formulation of the Evangelical traditions. Maintaining that the two dominating themes in Matthew's five Discourses were the animation of the eschatological hope and the need of direction for right behavior in order to attain it, he finds that the shadow of the errorists of the later Epistles moves through these Discourses: chaps. 24 and 25 reflecting anxiety concerning the spreading errors of denial of the Parousia and its accompaniments; and the other Discourses guarding against the libertine antinomians of Pastorals, Jas. Jude, II Peter, writings which stand in closest connection with Mtw. B. Weiss, *Introd.*, § 35, n. 2, and *Quellen d. Luk. evglms.*, p. 257, also holds that Mtw. in 7, 22; 13, 41; 24, 12, combats the antinomians of his period It is however to be recalled both that these errors appear in the earliest Epistles

The confident reminder in Jude 17 f. of the faith preached is, moreover, conjoined as throughout the New Testament, with the reference to the readers' reception of the Apostolic witness: to 'their most holy faith,' to the spiritual experiences, the bebaiosis, the epignosis of the grace of God in truth, resting upon their acceptance of the faith once delivered. It is 'most holy' both in view of its divine source and consecrating efficacy, and also as contrasted with the impious and impure perversions of it by the opponents of vs. 4. Their destructive influence is to be counteracted by positive development, advance, growth, upbuilding of this faith. As an 'upbuilding' the life of faith is viewed as a participation in a corporate life growing up unto the fullgrown man, cp. B. Weiss, *N. T. Theology*, 92.b and n.6; 106 .a. In II Cor. 13, 13, the perfecting of the Christian life, vs. 11, is in the grace of Christ, the love of God and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit; so here, faith's upbuilding is by means of this threefold relation with God in the threefold fellowship, love and hope; and it is further viewed in our vss. 20.21 as a counterpart to the threefold reference to the errorists of vss. 18.19 as mockers of the Parousia, walking in impious lusts and as causing separations, not having the Spirit.

The upbuilding of faith by prayer in the Holy Spirit is, therefore, seen to have a wider reference than the usual interpretation of the words as individual prayer prompted by the Spirit. As in Ephes. 6, 18, cp. 4, 1 ff., the reference is to the corporate life of worship in the fellowship of the Spirit. We learn in I Cor. 12–14 and Ephes. 4, 1–16, that when 'the whole Church is assembled together,' the one body animated by the one Spirit and giving diligence to keep the unity of the Spirit, is built up and established by the Spirit's gifts of wisdom, gnosis, prophetic exhortation and admonition, didache and didaskalia, as well as by the corporate devotion of prayer, praise and thanksgiving in the Spirit; and

and also that they are there met by appeal to the still earlier primitive Gospel preaching, didache and didaskalia. In view of the fact of the relation of the structure and contents of our Gospels to the leading topics and contents of the primitive preaching and teaching to which believers were recalled in the Epistles for their establishment against errorists, it is evident that this special interest could continue to be served, in connection with the general aims of the Gospels, by the selection of relevant material from the primitive preaching and instruction.

further, that this united worship, ministry and instruction is for the profit and edification both of the Body of Christ and of its members severally.

Establishment and upbuilding in this corporate life in the Spirit is next to be advanced by 'keeping yourselves in the love of God.' Again in this compressed and possibly liturgical formulation the contrast to the preceding walk in lusts by the ungodly, points to spiritual advance in the moral walk in love. With Windisch, 'the phrase unites as in Philippians 2, 14 the divine and human activity in religious life'; and with Bigg, while the love of God means here the love of God for man, yet 'they are to keep themselves safe within the Covenant by obedience.' So too we find in II John 6: this is love, that we walk in his commandments; and even more definitely in I John 2, 5.6 echoing John 15, 9 f.: if ye keep my commandments, ye shall abide in my love.

The inspiration for upbuilding of faith by this fulfillment of the divine law of love is, as we have constantly found, the hope of the mercy, grace and glory of our Lord Jesus Christ. It is a hope living and abounding in the power of the indwelling Holy Spirit as the earnest of our inheritance of the Kingdom; a hope that works out stedfastness under all trials and as well, animates us to ministry for the restoration of the erring and of those that oppose themselves. Thus increasingly established and built up in faith, love, hope and unity of the Spirit are the 'Christians of the Apostolic Age and of all succeeding ages confidently summoned to contend for the faith which was once for all delivered unto the saints.' And Jude's closing doxology to the God of hope, mighty to guard us from stumbling and to place us before his glory blameless and in exceeding joy, includes the Church's assurance of the direct divine ministry in her preaching of the everlasting Gospel in the power of the Spirit; of his bebaiosis and confirmation of faith in the epignosis of the grace of God in truth by those who accept her witness; and of his sterigmos, establishment and upbuilding of this faith in all her abiding witness and application of it to the new tasks of the developing history and life of humanity. Inspiring this her faith is the Spirit-born conviction: Faithful is God, who also will confirm you blameless unto the end, in the day of our Lord Jesus Christ.

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